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A REPORT ON THE WEST SIDE URBAN RENEWAL STUDY
TO MAYOR ROBERT F. WAGNER AND THE BOARD OF ESTIMATE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK,
AND TO THE URBAN RENEWAL ADMINISTRATION.

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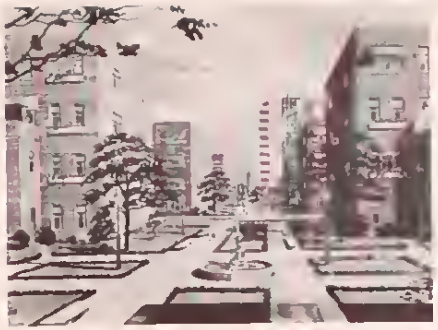

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Findings and Recommendations

The major conclusions that can be drawn from the West Side Urban Renewal Study may be summarized as follows:

1. The renewal approach appears desirable, practicable and economically feasible. It holds the promise of arresting the spread of blight that undermines the foundations of a formerly sound and desirable residential area; of developing its high potential for providing the kind of urban housing conditions and environment that will satisfactorily meet the varied needs of a broad cross-section of the population; and of sufficiently strengthening its tax base so that the necessary municipal investment required will be repaid in a reasonable time.

2. Renewal of the type proposed in this report is an important new tool that can be used to excellent advantage within the framework of good city-wide planning, but not as a substitute for such planning. It can in part make use of, and in part supplement, existing housing and slum clearance programs – but it cannot replace them. By "renewing" sections like the Study Area, a renewal program can contribute significantly to the improvement of housing conditions in New York City, but it cannot assure that all our housing needs will be met or that all our housing problems will be solved. For example, the West Side Study clearly brought out the special housing problems faced by Puerto Ricans. Such problems are likely to be found, to some degree, in any area selected for renewal. Renewal of specific areas can offer limited relief at best to the complex problems associated with large-scale in-migration. It does not relieve us of the necessity to seek more fundamental solutions.

3. While renewal offers a sensible and realistic approach to the difficult problems of a deteriorating neighborhood, it is not a panacea. Relocation problems will be eased because clearance is not total and because the renewal process takes place gradually over a period of time. But they will not be eliminated. There will be need to relocate some persons outside the renewal area in order to relieve the overcrowding that contributes to blight; others will be relocated within the area in order to accommodate the renewal process. Effectuation of an urban renewal plan requires a great many individual operations, both large and small, that involve some degree of relocation. As a result, it is desirable that the responsibility for handling all relocation in the renewal area be assigned to a single agency, whether public or private.

Typical Study Area side street, 94th Street, with brownstone houses and an occasional old-law tenement.

4. Any renewal plan should be based on the policy of providing the varied housing facilities needed to accommodate a broad cross-section of the population. Promotion of economically and ethnically integrated neighborhoods is not only a proper objective of a publicly-assisted program, but the best means of assuring balanced, healthy and stable development of the City. Within the framework of such a policy, however, there should be sufficient flexibility so that the proportions of the different types of accommodations provided – public low-rent housing, middle-income co-operative and rental housing, and private rental housing – may be varied according to the conditions and needs of the particular renewal area.

5. As a rule, tenement rehabilitation in the Area is not practicable. Rehabilitation of tenements involves a high development cost which in turn requires excessive rentals for the type of accommodation provided. Because of better design and comparatively low coverage of lots the prospect of brownstone rehabilitation is more favorable. Under the circumstances primary emphasis should be directed to new construction and brownstone rehabilitation.

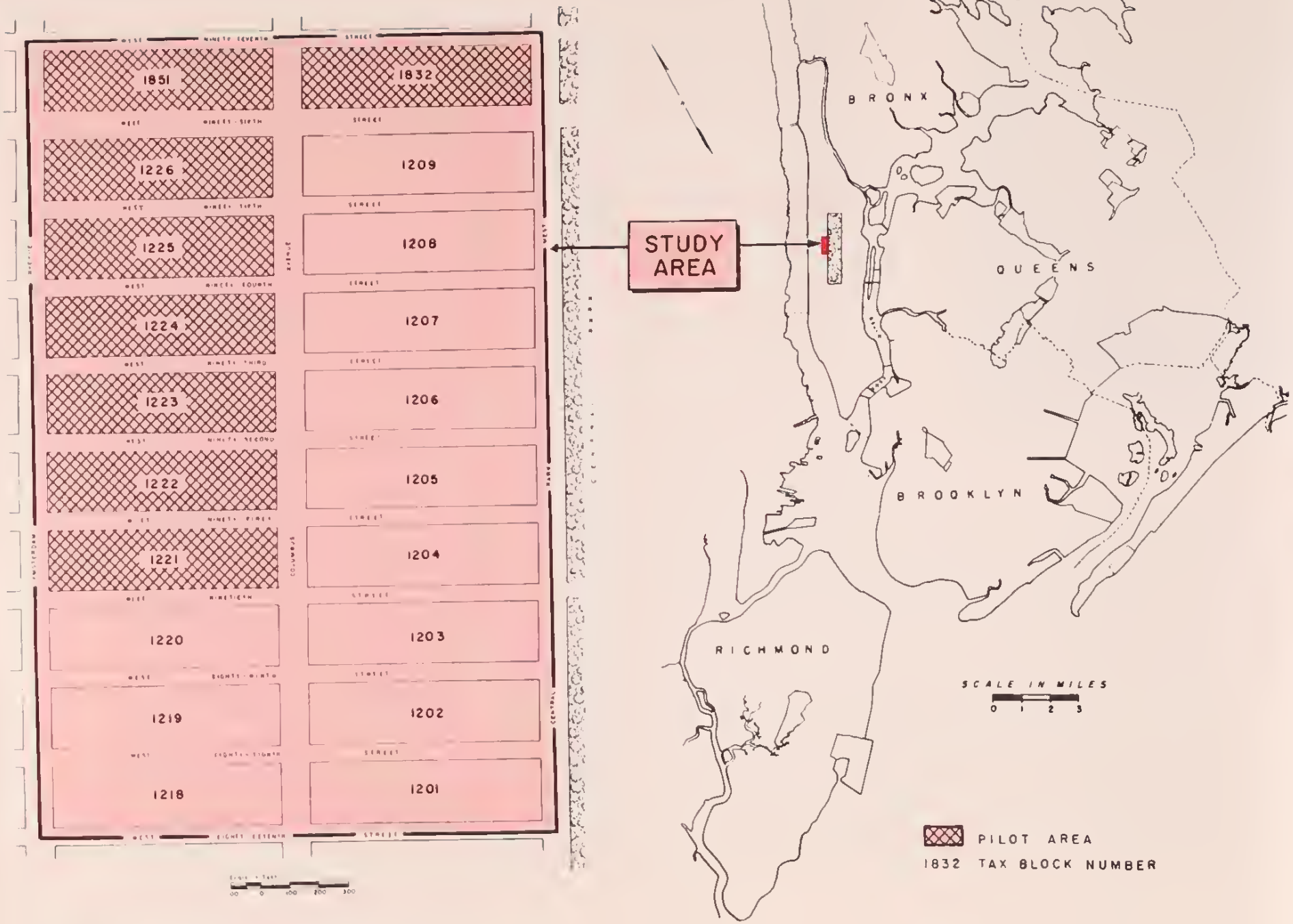
6. Uncertainty as to the future of an area is the greatest hindrance to the long-term private investment which is a prerequisite for economic stability and development. A soundly conceived and vigorously administered renewal plan, by guiding and protecting the development of an area, and by making provision for the necessary public facilities and services, can relieve this uncertainty and stimulate the private investment necessary to the success of urban renewal.

7. An urban renewal program, along the lines indicated in this study, could achieve maximum benefits with the minimum use of governmental subsidies. This is of particular importance at a time when Federal and local funds for such purposes are extremely limited while the demands for them are increasing.

8. Although the need for direct Federal subsidies is minimized in an urban renewal program, the availability of an adequate supply of mortgage money at reasonable rates is crucial. Congress recognized this when it wrote in the provision for special F.H.A. mortgage insurance (Section 220) in renewal areas. A wise and liberal application of Section 220 mortgage insurance is an essential part of a successful renewal operation.

9. Urban renewal requires not merely initial community acceptance and support, but continued community participation. It is, in effect, a program carried out by a partnership of government, private enterprise, and the local community. Although the particular organization for such community participation will vary from city to city, and even from area to area, the West Side Study has convinced us that the means and the desire to participate are available. The citizens' organizations in the area have expressed their desire and willingness to participate in a renewal program.

10. Finally, we would urge that such a renewal program be pressed forward vigorously. This report in no sense constitutes an official renewal plan for New York. The West Side Urban Renewal Study was undertaken for the purpose of exploring the practical possibilities of an urban renewal program which would combine clearance and redevelopment, rehabilitation and conservation, and for helping to determine whether a working program of this type should be undertaken. We think it should, but it rests with the Mayor, the Board of Estimate, and the people of this City to make the final decision after they have had the opportunity to study these findings. In the meantime, in order that momentum not be lost, we recommend that the City request an additional Section 314 grant from the Federal Urban Renewal Administration for the purpose of carrying out a demonstration "brick and mortar" project in the Study Area. This would permit the rehabilitation of a small group of brownstones as well as the provision of public open space along lines suggested by the study. In this way, ideas and techniques developed in this study could be tested and refined in actual operation.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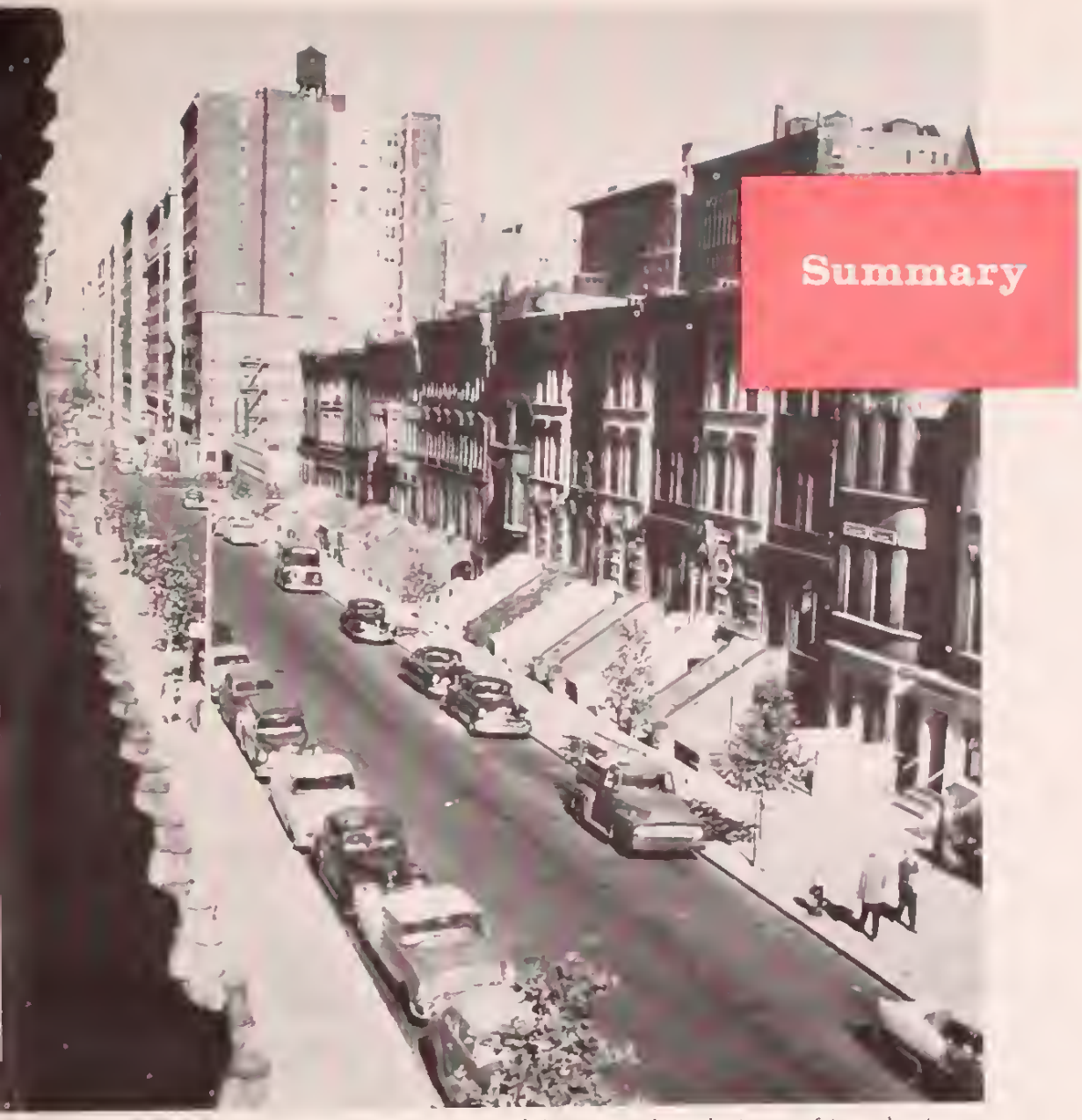


Summary

Looking past the brownstones on 88th Street toward the apartment house district west of Amsterdam Avenue.

The Problem — the Challenge

Manhattan Island's Upper West Side, stretching from 59th Street to 125th Street between Central Park and the Hudson River, is one of the most favorably located residential areas in the City of New York. Its natural advantages are enhanced by its proximity to the City's major business, entertainment, and cultural centers. Few areas in the City are better served by public transportation. Central Park West, Broadway, West End Avenue, Riverside Drive, and the major cross-town streets offer stretches of some of the most luxurious apartment houses found in New York. To a considerable extent, the side streets, particularly east of Broadway, are dominated by "brownstones," New York City's private houses of the turn of the century which by design and construction still have the potential for pleasant urban living. It is an area of many fine institutions of learning, culture, and religion; with community facilities and services; with active citizen's organizations and a high degree of civic-mindedness.

By all these criteria the Upper West Side should be a thriving and prosperous neighborhood, returning dividends of good living conditions to its residents, as well as soundness, stability, and a secure economic base to the City. Instead, it is an area in decline. Blight has set in and its spread is marked by excessive population turnover and increasing deterioration and overcrowding of housing. A by-product is congestion of streets, open space, schools and other public facilities. These elements, compounded, breed rising social tensions.

In a way, for all its special attributes, the Upper West Side epitomizes the paradox of the American city today. During a period of prosperity and a rising economy, the great human and material investment made in many of the older, central portions of our cities is deteriorating. At a time when good

housing is desperately needed, when the Congress has set forth as national policy the goal of "a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family," housing and neighborhoods that meet these specifications are in danger of becoming slums. Without resolute action our assets will turn into liabilities.

Sections like the Upper West Side retain their potential as attractive and desirable residential areas. In the past they provided the housing, the facilities, the amenities to meet the varied needs of a cross-section of our population in a satisfactory and rewarding manner. They can do so again. We cannot wait until our problems are insurmountable, until we have to start all over again. We must learn how to save and make use of the great amount of good that still remains. That is why the Upper West Side was chosen as the locale of this urban renewal study.

The Concept of Urban Renewal

For some time there had been a growing awareness of the threat imposed on our cities by this problem of neighborhood decline, and of the need to find effective means to counter it. Federal programs had concentrated on stimulating new private construction in undeveloped areas through mortgage insurance, on providing decent housing for low-income families and clearing slums through the public housing program, and on encouraging private investment in slum clearance and redevelopment through the Title I Program.

These programs were essential and continue to be needed. Where blight, deterioration, decay, and slums are no longer a threat but a fact, there is little alternative to mass clearance and rebuilding. But, despite the strides we have made since the end of World War II in clearing slums, it will be many years before we can clear and rebuild all existing slum areas. We lack the resources to do the entire job in our day.

If, meanwhile, nothing is done about the creeping blight which is dragging down formerly good areas, we will find ourselves on a slum treadmill. Much that is good still remains in such areas; their potential for improvement is high. We cannot wait until they have reached the point where mass clearance and rebuilding is the only answer. The waste of human, as well as economic resources, is more than we can afford. Some means must be found to arrest the process of decline and decay, to reverse the course of neighborhood deterioration, before the only answer left us is the bulldozer.

Many attempts were made to find new answers, particularly, since the end of the war. They ranged from carefully worked out neighborhood rehabilitation schemes to fix-up and clean-up campaigns, and pointed to and helped stimulate a growing awareness of the problem. It became increasingly apparent, however, that the problem of the declining neighborhood must be viewed and treated as a whole. The hope of successful treatment required a many-sided but coordinated attack, founded in realism and carried through with determination.

There was no thought that government could or should carry out this attack alone. Its job was to use its power and resources so as to most effectively release and stimulate the necessary private imagination, initiative, and investment required to carry the larger share. It had to make use of such tools and programs as were available and appropriate, and to develop such new ones as were needed. Local government had a key role to play. It had to take leadership in its own area, and provide the high degree of coordination and long-term planning needed. But with the resources of our cities stringently limited, there could be no effective approach to this problem unless the resources of the Federal government were made available.

Old-law tenements on Amsterdam and 95th Street *(below)*; First Church of Christ Scientist, Central Park West at 96th Street *(right)*.

New-law tenement with elevator, 96th Street *(left)*; old-law tenements, Amsterdam at 96th Street *(below)*.

This developing concept was formally recognized in the urban renewal provisions of the Housing Act of 1954, which extended Federal assistance to a program including rehabilitation and conservation in order to deal effectively with deteriorating neighborhoods as well as those that had already declined to the point where mass clearance and redevelopment were required. It also called on cities to develop a "Workable Program of Urban Renewal" as evidence that they recognized and had formulated a coordinated program to meet the problem of "renewing" themselves on the many fronts required. The recapture of declining neighborhoods was an exciting and promising idea. Would it work?

The Demonstration Study

The path between the conception of a new program and its successful execution is often a difficult one. Could urban renewal, as conceived, get at the real roots of urban decay? Was it possible to enlist and organize the necessary support of a neighborhood over the long haul, as well as in the first flush of enthusiasm? What size or what kind of neighborhood unit was required in which urban renewal might be both effective and manageable? Was rehabilitation, conceived as one of the major elements of an urban renewal program, either economically feasible or socially desirable? Were the guarantees and incentives adequate to stimulate the required large-scale participation of private initiative and investment? Were the supporting Federal programs boldly enough conceived and administered? Would the final results justify the investment of time, energy, and money required to bring them about?

These were the questions to which no one had sure answers. Wisely, the Congress included Section 314 in the new Act. This section provided for Federal grants to cities for the purpose of undertaking comprehensive "demonstration studies" in order to find answers to these problems, and to explore the means and technique necessary for an effective urban renewal program.

On the initiative of Mayor Wagner, who desired to broaden further the City's multi-programmed attack on slums and blight, New York applied to the Urban Renewal Administration in Washington for a Section 314 demonstration grant in 1956. The area selected, following a study by the City, State, and Federal agencies most directly concerned with the problem, consisted of twenty blocks bounded by West 87th and 97th Streets, Central Park West and Amsterdam Avenue. It formed a rectangle midway between the northern and southern boundaries of Manhattan's Upper West Side.

The Federal government provided a demonstration grant of $150,000 for the study, which was matched by $75,000 in City personnel services. An informal Urban Renewal Committee was appointed – consisting of the President of the Borough of Manhattan, the Corporation Counsel, the Commissioner of the Department of Buildings, the Chairman of the New York City Housing Authority, and the Commissioner of the New York State Division of Housing, under the direction of the Chairman of the City Planning Commission – to advise on the study. Responsibility for supervising and directing the study and for publishing a final report was assigned to City Planning.

To Find the Facts

The study was organized to find out what was happening in the Study Area and why; and based on those facts to see whether it was possible to develop realistic and meaningful proposals for its renewal. Such proposals as could be developed were intended to shed light not only on the renewal possibilities of the Study Area, but of similar areas throughout the City and in other American cities as

Columbus Avenue at 89th Street *(left)*, brownstone survivals between elevator structures, 96th Street *(center, left)*; brownstones, 92nd Street *(center, right)*; Congregation Ohab Zedek and Beth Hillel Hebrew Institute *(right)*.

well. While they were not to be considered as an official renewal plan, they could provide the basis for such a plan if, as a result of the study, the City decided to institute this type of urban renewal program.

Consultants were retained to make the studies upon which this report is largely based: a detailed survey of the area's population and housing; an analysis of the real estate and mortgage market; an examination of existing community organizations and community needs; and finally, a study of the structural and design possibilities on which economically sound physical renewal plans could be based. In addition, almost every City Department contributed to the study in its own field of special information or expert knowledge. Coordination, special research, and supervision were provided by the Department of City Planning.

The Facts

The first part of this report deals with the characteristics of the Study Area. While the general picture presented is one of decline, the details from which it is developed do not all point in a single direction. Many strengths as well as weaknesses are revealed. But weakness is presently ascendant. Minus factors are setting the trend and will continue to do so unless checked.

Thirty-nine thousand persons, the population of a small city, live in the twenty-block Study Area. They live in brownstones, the most numerous building type found in the Area, which dominate most of its side streets. They live in walk-up tenements solidly lining Columbus Avenue (one of Manhattan's broad north-south avenues which bisects the Study Area and divides it into two ten-block tiers), and found in substantial numbers on Amsterdam Avenue, its western boundary, as well as on a number of the side streets. And they live in tall apartment houses on Central Park West, on 96th Street – a major crosstown thoroughfare – and scattered elsewhere through the Area.

This mixed housing stock is the product of a half-century of vigorous real estate development and redevelopment. It was generated by the completion of the elevated railway along Columbus Avenue in 1880, given a boost by the opening of the Broadway subway shortly after the turn of the century, and was ended, for all practical purposes, by the Great Depression and World War II.

During the post-war period, when new building activity revived in many parts of the City, construction remained virtually dormant in the Study Area. But the Area's population did not. In the six years from 1950 to 1956, the number of persons living in the Area increased from 33,000 to 39,000, a 16 per cent rise. Equally significant, seven out of every ten families who lived in the Area in 1956 had not lived there in 1950.

At first glance, there appears to be a relatively simple explanation for this drastic population change. The Study Area, or portions of it at least, has become a kind of reception center for the newest of the large-scale migrations into the City, that of the Puerto Ricans. From 1950 to 1956, the Puerto Rican population of the Area increased almost eightfold, from 1,700 persons to 13,000 persons. Moreover, the Puerto Ricans, because of language and cultural differences, are as conspicuous today as were once the great waves of European migrants, from which most New Yorkers are not too many generations removed.

While an increase of this magnitude in a particular ethnic group has indeed had great impact, the forces at work are considerably more complex. The Area does not present a flat, two-dimensional picture of Puerto Ricans and non-whites moving in, and whites moving out. Although the total white non-Puerto Rican population did decrease by roughly a

Luxurious apartment buildings on Central Park West; only a few mansions remained after the building boom of the twenties.

Riverside Drive and the Hudson just west of the Study Area from the Schwab Mansion, replaced in 1949 by an apartment development.

quarter between 1950 and 1956, nevertheless white non-Puerto Rican families surprisingly constituted more than half (6,800) of all famiiles who moved in during the period. Furthermore, the fact that the median income in the Study Area increased by more than one-third indicates that the white families and individuals who moved into the Area must have had above-average incomes to compensate for the below-average incomes of the majority of Puerto Rican families.

Obviously the Study Area exercised a multiple attraction which enabled it to draw in diverse groups. What were the sources of this attraction? First, there was the location of the Area, neither depression nor war having diminished its convenience to the major employment, shopping, entertainment, cultural, and educational centers of the City. Then there was its tradition of providing housing at a range of costs available to almost all pocketbooks. Unlike some neighborhoods which start out by providing housing for a relatively homogeneous income group, and gradually descend the economic ladder as they age, the Study Area continued as it had from the beginning to provide housing – in its brownstones, tenements, and apartment houses – for virtually the entire income spectrum. And, perhaps more important than tradition, was the factor on which it was based – a varied housing supply flexible enough to meet, one way or another, the new demands put on it.

With virtually no new housing built during this period of rapid population increase, the added load was absorbed by the subdivision and conversion of existing units. In a way, this, too, was traditional to the section. While the brownstones had been conceived as single-family homes for the well-to-do, from the beginning many were occupied by middle income families who rented a flat or a duplex in a two-family house, or took in lodgers. Subsequently, many more were subdivided into smaller apartments, or converted into rooming houses which provided accommodations for the many single persons and childless couples who came into the Area. During the period between the two world wars, a number of the large apartments that had been provided in the early apartment houses were also subdivided into smaller units.

However, while the subdivision and conversion of units during the 1950-56 period represented a continuation of a historic process in the Area, several significant mutations arose. Whereas in previous periods the average household size had undoubtedly been decreasing, it increased between 1950 and 1956. And the most common conversion during the period became that of a furnished room into a dwelling unit by the addition of makeshift cooking facilities with an entire family replacing the former single occupant. More and more people crowded into smaller and smaller units. In 1956, 10,400 persons lived in quarters suitable for 4,500, with the worst overcrowding in the brownstone rooming houses and single-room occupancy tenements. Fully 17 per cent of the 15,324 quarters in the area consisted of one-room units occupied by two or more persons. Deterioration and a sharp decline in living conditions were inevitable.

The results of this trend were reflected in many ways besides the growth of substandard housing. With families, and large families at that, replacing unrelated individuals, the number of children under 15 more than doubled during the six years, heavily overloading neighborhood school facilities. The school situation was further complicated by the fact that a large portion of the new children did not speak English, and by an abnormal rate of turnover. Most of the Puerto Ricans, as poor in-migrants, of necessity occupied the worst housing until they could afford to move to something better. In itself, this made the bridging of cultural and language differ-

ences more difficult and increased tensions in the Area. A high degree of local civic responsibility was indicated by the existence of several block-improvement associations and the many community and civic organizations which served the Area either as a separate entity or as part of the greater Park West community. But lack of unified direction and coordination, as well as the magnitude of the forces at work, kept their efforts from effectively stemming the section's decline.

At the same time, there was an equally drastic change in the real estate investment market in the Area. The capital necessary for improvement and expansion became more difficult and costly to obtain. Responsible institutional lenders provided a smaller share of mortgage money, and private individuals, willing to take a high risk for a high return, a larger share. Rents in the single-room occupancy tenements and in brownstone rooming houses, which by and large accommodate the poorest families, are $2.86 and $2.30 a square foot respectively, compared to $1.30 a square foot in the elevator apartment buildings. Both real estate turnover and absentee ownership increased. But while the total rent increased about 40 per cent, the Area's share of the Manhattan tax levy fell 11 per cent between 1946 and 1956.

The question of whether investment changes of this type precede or follow population and physical changes is academic once the cycle is in full swing. The important thing is that once decline begins, it multiplies at a rapid rate unless effectively checked.

A Course of Renewal

The second part of the report explores the possibilities of checking and reversing the flow of blight and decline through the tools and techniques possible in a planned renewal process. Existing conditions in the Area; its traditions, location, and type of housing stock; basic City policies; the relation of this kind of renewal program to other programs and the resources available for them; sound city-planning concepts – these helped determine the basic objectives of a renewal program.

What are the yardsticks against which a successful renewal plan should be measured? A reduction of the abnormal population turnover and elimination of the excessive overcrowding which contribute so greatly to the Area's decline. Maintenance of the economic and ethnic integration which is part of its tradition, is in accord with accepted City policy, and which will take into account the needs of its present population. Economy in the use of available public funds, for which there is increasing competition, and the encouragement and stimulation of maximum private investment and effort in the renewal process. Good individual design and harmonious area planning. Effective utilization of the existing housing stock. The approximation of existing population densities after renewal in view of the Area's location in central Manhattan, but no substantial increase in density. Increase in the Area's tax return to the City. Active and sustained community participation.

Most of the basic tools needed for the renewal of a section like the Study Area were available when the study began. In the urban renewal provisions of the National Housing Act, Congress had authorized Federal assistance for the renewal of such areas through a combined program of clearance and redevelopment, rehabilitation and conservation. It had also provided special funds for demonstration studies aimed at developing the techniques needed in this combined approach, planning and write-down funds, and special F.H.A. mortgage insurance programs for use in connection with urban renewal. State and federally aided low-rent public housing programs were also available. So too were programs for de-

Central Baptist Church, Amsterdam and 92nd Street *(left)*; brownstones on 87th Street *(below)*; Joan of Arc Junior High School entrance on 93rd Street *(right)*.

veloping middle-income co-operative and rental housing, in which New York State and the City had pioneered, the most recent example being the Mitchell-Lama Limited Profit Housing Companies Law. The job was to put these together into a comprehensive and cohesive program.

One of the first results of the West Side Study was the adoption in 1957 of State enabling legislation (Section 72-m of the General Municipal Law) which provides the vehicle for carrying out such a program in a deteriorating area. This law, which authorizes the exercise of eminent domain, expenditure of public funds, and other powers to carry out an officially adopted renewal plan, was introduced at the request of Mayor Wagner. It received bipartisan backing, being sponsored by Senator MacNeil Mitchell (R), Chairman, and Assemblyman Alfred Lama (D), Secretary, of the Joint Legislative Committee on Housing and Multiple Dwellings.

An intensive analysis of the economic and structural possibilities of rehabilitating the type of brownstones and old-law tenements found in the Area indicated that in terms of resultant living conditions and costs, the prospect of brownstone rehabilitation is fairly good, but that of tenement rehabilitation is not feasible as a rule. Based on this analysis and the general renewal objectives set for the Area, over-all renewal plans were developed. Because of the desire that such plans be based on accurate and detailed knowledge, an eight-block pilot area was selected, consisting of the seven blocks between Amsterdam and Columbus Avenues from 90th to 97th Streets plus the block between Columbus Avenue and Central Park West from 96th to 97th Streets. This pilot area was selected because it was representative of general conditions in the Study Area, but small enough to permit the consultants to make a detailed analysis of the condition of each building within the limits of available funds.

Two general plans were developed. Although both make use of brownstone rehabilitation, the emphasis in the first plan is on new construction, that of the second on rehabilitation. Both plans also show an alternate end result from the same basic start, demonstrating that there is no one single road leading to renewal, but a relatively wide range of choices.

However, both plans contain a number of common elements and accomplish common objectives. They are based on a series of stages, permitting renewal to take place gradually so as to ease relocation problems and disturb the continuity of neighborhood life as little as possible. Renewal in stages also permits the concentration of necessary public improvements and investment in the early part of the process so that it may serve as an increased inducement for greater private activity in the latter stages. Both plans, for example, provide for a needed new public school in the first stage, as well as the provision of public open spaces which play an important part in making the area a more attractive and desirable place to live.

Both plans also provide housing for an economic cross-section of the community: low-rent public housing, quasi-public middle income housing, and private rental housing. Building and rehabilitation units are small enough to permit development by small firms and contractors, thus increasing the possibilities of competition.

Finally, both plans indicate how this type of combined renewal approach, by preserving the good housing in an area, strengthening the weak, and eliminating the bad, can transform a deteriorating area into a highly desirable residential neighborhood — favorable for decent urban living, favorable for sound and constructive real estate investment, and offering a substantially increased tax return to the City.

James Felt

Post-1929 elevator building, 94th Street *(left)*; Columbus Avenue at 89th Street *(below)*; one of Trinity School's buildings *(right)*.

Supermarket at Columbus Avenue and 95th Street

CHARACTERISTICS
of the
STUDY AREA

The Greater Community and the Study Area

Elevator buildings on the edge of the Study Area as seen from Central Park.

The Park West Community

The Upper West Side of Manhattan, sometimes known as Park West, is a well-defined residential community, one of the many which make up New York City. While some of these communities have no clearly recognized borders, and may be no more than memories of early settlements now grown together, such is not the case with this area between Central Park and the Hudson River.

Topographically, the community lies on a plateau rising gradually from lower Manhattan and terminating in a deep valley almost at the level of the Hudson River at 125th Street. The eastern boundary of the community is Central Park; on the west lies Riverside Park, with the Hudson River beyond. The southern border begins with the southwest corner of Central Park at Columbus Circle and continues west to the River with an almost solid band of non-residential structures between 58th and 60th Streets. On the north, beyond 110th Street, is Columbia University with her sister institutions and related residential areas on Morningside Heights.

The population of Park West in 1950 was over 300,000 – almost as many people as in Rochester, the third largest city in New York State, and more than the 1950 population of the states of Wyoming or Nevada.

The community of Park West has one of the most central and desirable locations in the City, for it is only about twenty-five minutes by subway or bus from virtually any place in the lower Manhattan shopping, business and financial centers and is even closer to the midtown centers. This locational advantage and its proximity to Central Park and Riverside Park formerly made Park West one of the City's prestige communities. But now this once-proud community has lost its position and is infiltrated with congestion and decay.

The urban development of the Upper West Side may be divided into three stages: the mass construction of single-family brownstone dwellings and old-law tenement houses between 1880 and 1900; the erection of elevator apartment houses between 1901 and 1930; and the virtual cessation of construction in the depression following 1930, accompanied by a subdivision of existing dwelling units to accommodate a growing population.

1880-1900: Brownstones and Old-Law Tenements

The completion of the steam-powered elevated railway in 1880, along what is now Columbus Avenue, brought Park West within easy reach of the commercial centers of lower Manhattan and stimulated a land boom which marked the beginning of the West Side as a concentrated residential area. All along its route intensive construction of attached houses immediately got under way in areas near the "el" stations.

By 1884, real estate prices rose to the point where an average 25 by 100 foot lot near 72nd Street and Broadway sold for $15,000. Such an investment could be justified only by the erection of an expensive house. Along and near Central Park luxurious mansions of marble and brick were built. Typical in the side streets, however, was the row house of three to five stories, plus a habitable basement and a rear yard with grass and trees and often a garden. These buildings became known as brownstones from the color of the sandstone facing. The structure covered about 60 per cent of a 25 foot lot and contained a floor area of 5,000 to 6,000 square feet. Because of the high cost of purchasing and maintaining such dwellings, one might infer that they were occupied only by the well-to-do. However, middle-class families also managed to live in the area by renting a flat or duplex in a two-family house or even an entire building, or by taking in lodgers.

In the less favored sections of the area, walk-up apartment houses, technically known as tenements, were constructed. These structures solidly line Columbus Avenue, which was blighted by the trestle of the "el" as well as by the noise and soot of the passing trains.

Tenement buildings also were erected on a few of the side streets, particularly in the less desirable blocks which lay between Columbus and Amsterdam Avenues. Many were of the dumbbell type, which made a maximum use of the land, providing dark and poorly ventilated living quarters.

Amsterdam Avenue, about midway between Central Park and the River, was also developed with tenements, a large proportion of which still exist on the easterly side of the avenue. While not fashionable, Amsterdam was occupied for the most part by more prosperous families than those living on Columbus Avenue. It was served by street cars until 1935, when buses replaced the trolleys.

The steam powered, later electrified, elevated railroad on Columbus Avenue started the first Park West boom.

Elevator structures on Broadway at 72nd Street in 1894 *(below)*.

The early mansions facing Central Park began to give way to apartment houses. Central Park West at the turn of the century.

Mass construction of attached houses on the side streets followed the opening of the Columbus Avenue elevated. West 73rd Street in 1889.

1901-1930: The Apartment House Boom

Broadway, which had been laid out with center strips of trees and was considered a "thoroughfare of homes, a driveway for fashionable equipages," lost much of its charm with the opening of the subway in 1904. The Broadway subway ran from City Hall via Grand Central and Times Square along Broadway to 145th Street. However, the completion of the subway set into motion a new wave of apartment building, particularly in those areas not previously served by the "el". Riverside Drive, opened in 1900, soon became one of the most fashionable residential areas of the City. The area was further improved with the lessening of the noise and dirt of the "el" by its electrification shortly after the opening of Riverside Drive.

This boom in Park West maintained its strength from 1910 to 1930, and, in contrast to the earlier one, involved major redevelopment. Many of the earlier brownstones and old-law tenements were replaced with structures built under the new tenement house law of 1901 and the 1929 multiple dwelling law. These new buildings were erected on wider plots and were larger and higher than those demolished.

Before World War I, apartment buildings of 12 stories appeared, only to be eclipsed in the 1920's by even taller apartments, sometimes of 16 or more stories, concentrated along Broadway and West End Avenue, Riverside Drive, Central Park West and the six wide east-west thoroughfares – 72nd, 79th, 86th, 96th, 106th and 110th Streets. For Park West, the rate of apartment house construction in these two decades has never been equalled before or since.

As can be seen in the aerial view (Page 3), apartment building spread from Riverside Drive, West End Avenue and Broadway toward Amsterdam Avenue. Amsterdam Avenue, like West End Avenue, is actually only a half-block from Broadway, in terms of the more usual 800-foot east-west blocks in Park West, so that the west side of Amsterdam was largely rebuilt, but only a beginning was made on the east side of this avenue when the stock market crash of 1929 and the depression which followed put an end to the apartment house boom. While Columbus Avenue was excluded from the boom by the presence of the "el", Central Park West was rebuilt on a scale rivaling Riverside Drive. West 96th Street was also substantially redeveloped.

The buildings built during the 1900-1930 period today provide most of the high-quality housing stock and represent the bulk of the present real estate values in Park West.

Broadway at 96th Street in 1921 *(above)* and Riverside Drive *(right)* in its heyday in the late twenties.

1930-1957: The Depression and Its Aftermath

During 1929, almost 11,000 apartments were erected in Manhattan – the second highest number since 1924. By the end of 1933, only four years later, the volume had plummeted to zero. In the Study Area, the replacement of early nine and ten-story apartment houses facing Central Park between 90th and 91st Streets with the Eldorado Towers, a 34-story apartment house completed in 1931, marked the end of the dynamic redevelopment of the West Side. This abrupt cessation of construction was succeeded by a period of very little new unassisted private development, which still characterizes the West Side. The opening of the Eighth Avenue Subway along Central Park West in 1932 produced no immediate effect; the removal of the "el" tracks from Columbus Avenue in 1941 likewise attracted slight interest.

When the housing market on the West Side revived under the stimulus of World War II, conversions of existing structures took the place of new building.

The Study Area

The area selected for study consists of twenty blocks bounded by Central Park West, Amsterdam Avenue, West 87th Street, and West 97th Street. The reason for the choice of these particular blocks can best be seen in the photograph of the Study Area. In this aerial view the twenty blocks stand out as a separate physical section of the Park West community, with well-defined boundaries. On the east is the broad sweep of Central Park. To the west the mixed character of the buildings in the Study Area gives way to a district almost solidly built-up with high apartment houses. The north and south boundaries are marked by the line of tall buildings along the wide crosstown thoroughfares of West 86th and West 96th Streets, the former being solidly lined on both sides of the street, the latter exhibiting a number of gaps still occupied by old-law tenements and some brownstones. The Study Area begins on 87th Street just north of the wall of apartment houses, but includes the 96th Street development, since just above 97th Street, the Study Area's northern boundary, is the site of West Park, a Title I redevelopment project now under construction.

The Study Area, while not a separate neighborhood unit, is thus marked off from the rest of Park West by physical characteristics and barriers about as clear as any to be found in Manhattan. These boundaries and the size of the resultant population – some 39,000 people about the same number as live in Montclair, New Jersey – made a manageable, detailed study possible.

The Use of Land in the Study Area

General Land Use Pattern

The 20-block Study Area is essentially residential in character, with 85 per cent of the land, exclusive of streets, being used for predominantly residential structures. Along Columbus and Amsterdam Avenues the ground floors are almost wholly occupied by commercial uses, usually with living quarters above. On the east-west streets, only two block frontages have more than a scattering of retail stores. In addition, two public schools, a number of private and parochial schools, churches and other institutions are located throughout the Area, mostly on the east-west streets.

The use of land in the Study Area today, as shown in the aerial photograph and the Building Classification Map (Page 19), gives clear evidence of the historical development described in the previous chapter. Modern elevator apartment buildings occupy most of the block-ends along Central Park West overlooking Central Park. The block-ends on the east side of Amsterdam Avenue are still largely filled with old-law tenements while the west side is more completely filled with elevator apartment buildings. Both sides of Columbus Avenue consist of almost unbroken rows of tenements.

West 96th Street, as well as West 86th Street just to the south of the Study Area, are major streets running through Central Park and crossing Manhattan Island from river to river. West 86th Street is virtually lined with modern elevator apartment or hotel structures on both sides; West 96th Street has been only partially redeveloped.

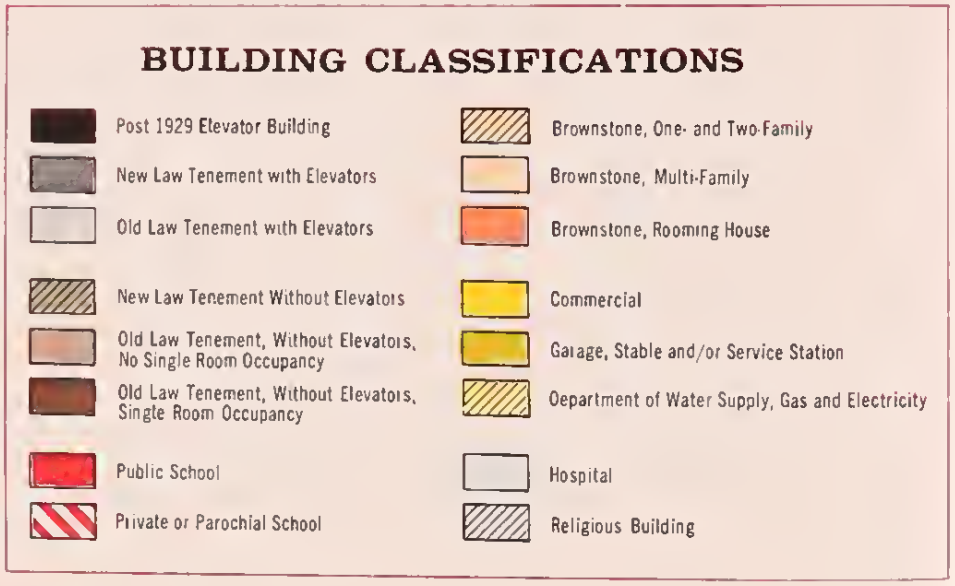
Between the avenues, the side streets still are occupied by the earlier brownstones, with a scattering of modern elevator buildings and some old-law tenements, a few of which have been modernized and equipped with elevators. This pattern is broken by two concentrations of tenements along the side streets. One such concentration covers the two blocks between 89th and 91st Streets, Amsterdam and Columbus Avenues, in the western tier of blocks. The other lies on the south side of 93rd Street between Columbus Avenue and Central Park West in the eastern tier.

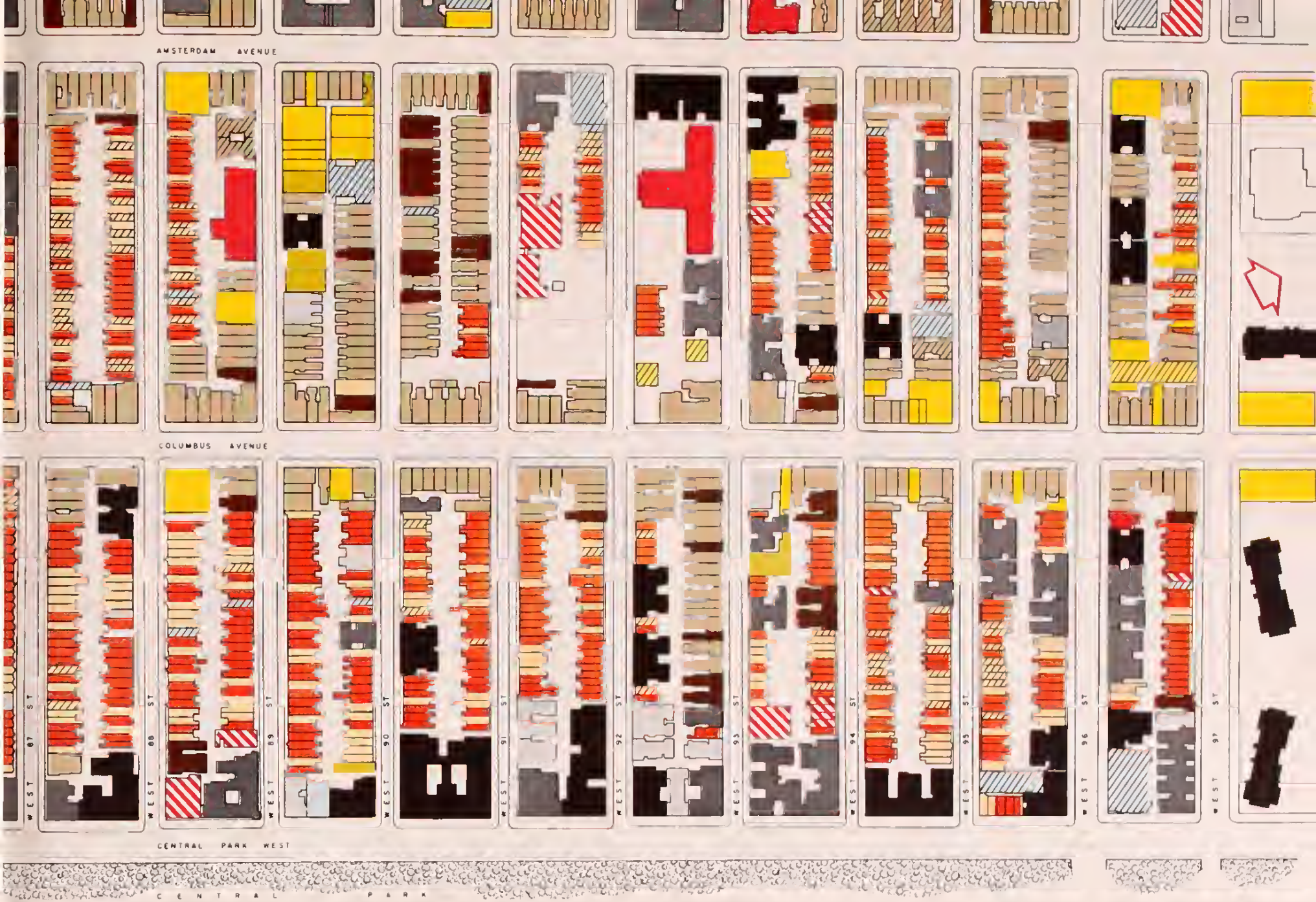
The Study Area has a gross acreage of 106.3 acres and, excluding the street area, 74 net acres. The use of the net acreage can be seen in the following table:

PREDOMINANT LAND USE
(exclusive of streets)

Category	No. of Net Acres	Per cent
Residential without commercial*	50.9	68.8
Residential with ground floor commercial	12.2	16.5
Schools — Public and Private	4.6	6.2
Commercial, Office, Warehousing and Industry	2.6	3.5
Other Public and Private Institutions	1.6	2.1
Aqueduct Buildings and Right-of-way	1.1	1.5
Garages, Stables and Service Stations	0.8	1.1
Vacant Land	0.2	0.3
Total Net Acres	**74.0**	**100.0**

*Includes vacant buildings, 0.1 acres





BUILDING CLASSIFICATIONS

Commercial Land Uses

The "main street" of the Park West community is Broadway, an avenue only some 300 feet west of and parallel to Amsterdam Avenue, the Study Area's western boundary. The community and Study Area are also close to the midtown Manhattan retail shopping center, so that the commercial establishments in the Study Area are essentially local in nature and mostly located on two of the north-south avenues, Columbus and Amsterdam. Zoning restrictions and prestige considerations in the development of the Central Park frontage kept commercial uses from Central Park West.

There are 535 non-residential establishments in the Study Area, including 44 educational, religious and other institutional uses. The 491 commercial uses differ greatly in size and quality, ranging from an impressive bank and a few large supermarkets to many small, dingy shops. Both in type and in quality the products and services offered have been scaled to accommodate the requirements of the middle and upper-income families on the one hand, and, on the other, the special needs of the low-income groups resident in the Area.

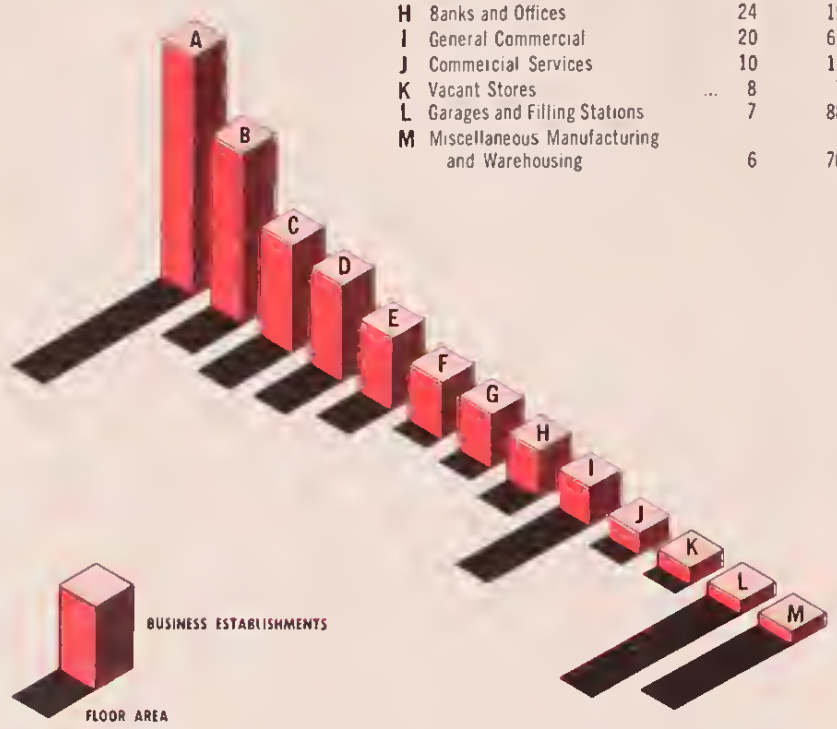
Graph No. 1, showing the number and square feet of floor area occupied by various classifications of commercial uses, illustrates the effect of both the high-density nature of the Study Area and the composition of the population on the number and distribution of the commercial uses. There are large chain stores in the Area, but most stores in the food as well as other categories are small, often family, enterprises. Both the residents of European origin and the new Puerto Rican arrivals traditionally prefer the small store, with its specialized stock and personal contact between customer and proprietor.

Auxiliary business uses normally found on the fringes of local shopping centers, such as plumbing, heating and electrical contractors; used furniture and bedding stores; glaziers, carpenters, printing shops and the like, are found throughout the length of the two business avenues. The few which are found on the side streets are mostly in the basements of brownstones or tenement buildings. Exceptions are the blocks bounded by West 96th and 97th Streets, and to a greater extent the block between West 89th and West 90th Streets, both between Columbus and Amsterdam Avenues. This string of retail business along major thoroughfares is a common form of commercial development in the older sections of New York City.

BUSINESS ESTABLISHMENTS BY NUMBER AND FLOOR AREA

Graph No. 1

		Number	Square Feet
A	Food, Liquor and Drug Stores	126	92,830
B	Shoe Repair and Clothing Service	89	30,650
C	House Outfitting and Repair	57	38,630
D	Restaurants and Bars	50	33,895
E	General Merchandise, Jewelry, Furniture and Appliances	37	24,750
F	Apparel	29	8,790
G	Personal Services	28	11,315
H	Banks and Offices	24	19,370
I	General Commercial	20	60,525
J	Commercial Services	10	11,370
K	Vacant Stores	8	7,880
L	Garages and Filling Stations	7	88,150
M	Miscellaneous Manufacturing and Warehousing	6	70,580



A number of land uses indicated on Graph No. 1 as miscellaneous manufacturing and warehousing are not strictly local business uses and as such need not be accommodated in a renewal scheme. While these incompatible uses show a large floor area, there are only a few establishments, mostly in multiple-story structures, and largely concentrated near Amsterdam Avenue between 89th and 90th Streets.

Residential Structures

The residential structures are divided into three main building types: multi-family structures with elevators, multi-family walk-up tenements, and brownstones. Each of these three main classifications is, in turn, divided into three sub-categories based on the occupancy of the living quarters or the laws under which the structure was built. Thus, the elevator-equipped apartment house structures are subdivided into old-law tenements (pre-1901), new-law tenements (1901-1929) and the post-1929 buildings legally known as Class A multiple dwellings. Graph No. 3 shows the distribution of buildings by these categories.

The walk-up tenement category is composed of old-law buildings divided into flats, each with its own kitchen and bathroom; new-law buildings similarly subdivided and equipped; and old-law tenements in which the flats have been converted to single-room-occupancy.

Finally, the brownstone category is divided into houses used as multi-family apartment buildings, one or two-family structures, and houses which have been converted into rooming houses.

The old-law tenements in the Study Area were built after the tenement house law of 1879 which required better light and ventilation than before. The resultant old-law tenement common in the Area, the so-called dumbbell tenement, therefore has windows in every room even though opening only onto narrow airshafts.

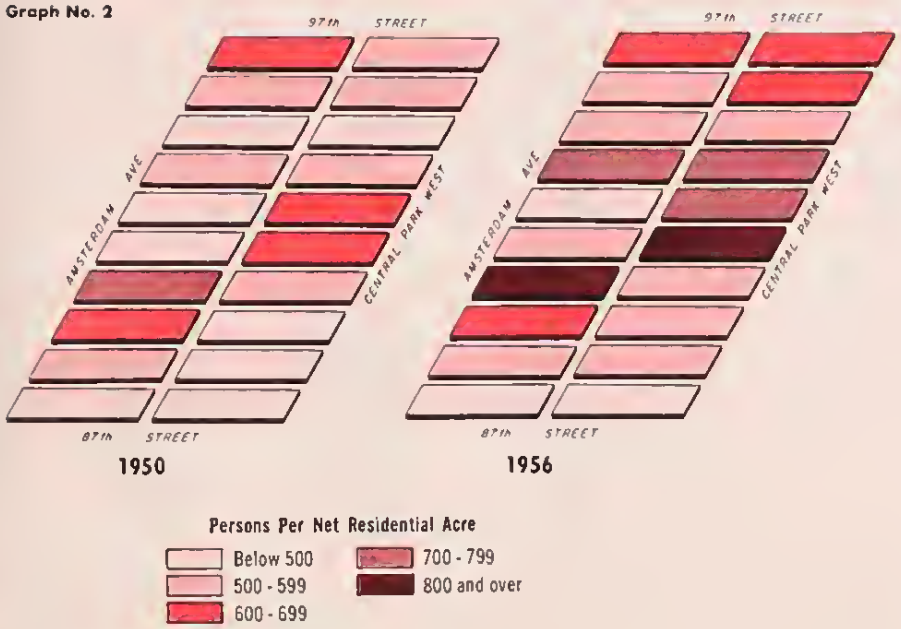
The new-law tenements were required to have somewhat larger courts, with running water in each dwelling. In the Study Area, the new-law tenements are among the better structures of this type and generally appear as elevator structures; there are only four non-elevator new-law tenement buildings in the Study Area. While the old-law tenements in the Area, usually on 25-foot lots, are narrow and often 85 feet deep, the new-law elevator buildings are on much wider lots and have better layouts than the earlier new-law tenements built in other parts of the City.

The most common building type in the Study Area, in terms of number of structures, is the brownstone. As Graph No. 3 shows, the original one- and two-family use has declined to 79 buildings, compared with 158 buildings which have been remodeled into multi-family apartment houses, and the 428 buildings now classified as rooming houses, including those housing a family to a room.

In Graphs No. 4, 5, 6 and 7, the comparative importance of the various structure types can be seen in terms of number of living quarters, land area, floor area and assessed value.

NET RESIDENTIAL DENSITY, 1950 AND 1956

Graph No. 2



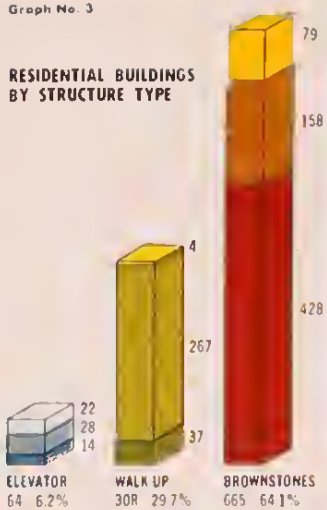
Density

The Study Area is a high-coverage and high-density district. Building coverage in the twenty blocks ranges from 60 to 80 per cent of the residentially used land. Calculated on the basis of its 106.3 gross acres (including half of the area of the perimeter streets and all of the interior streets) the Study Area has a density of 365 persons per gross acre. On the basis of all the land, excluding streets, the net density is 525 persons per acre. For the eight-block pilot area the gross density is 336 persons per acre and the net density is 492 persons per acre.

Comparison with other residential districts in Manhattan can best be made in terms of the net residential density, i.e., the total area of the lots occupied by residential structures. On this basis the 22.6 acres of residentially developed land in the pilot area have a density of 645 persons per acre. Residential districts in Manhattan have a median range from 500 to 600 persons per net residential acre with the highest net density being about 1300 persons per acre.

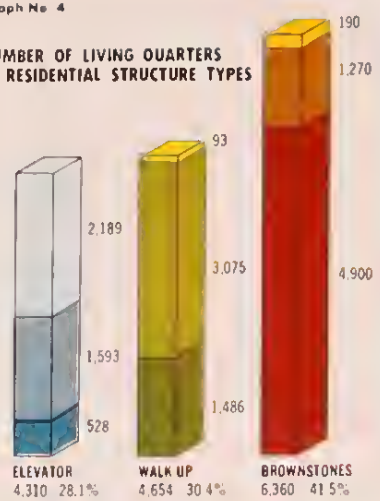
Graph No. 3

RESIDENTIAL BUILDINGS BY STRUCTURE TYPE



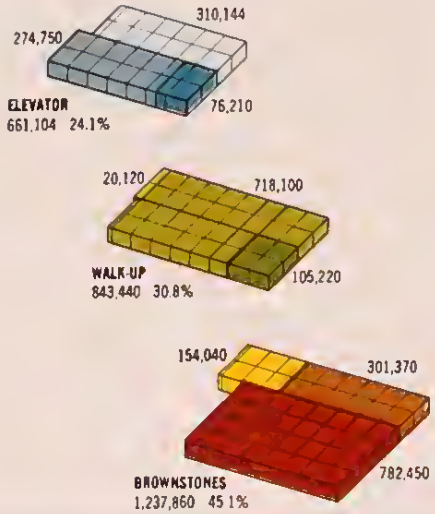
Graph No. 4

NUMBER OF LIVING QUARTERS IN RESIDENTIAL STRUCTURE TYPES



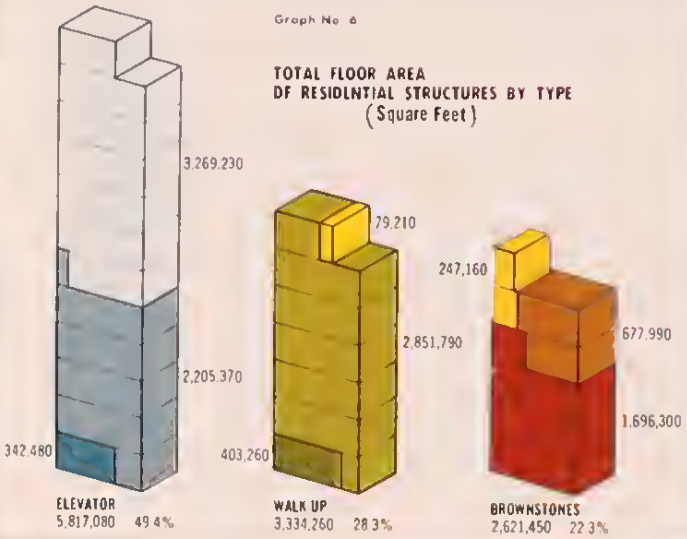
Graph No. 5

TOTAL LAND AREA OCCUPIED BY RESIDENTIAL STRUCTURE TYPES (Square Feet)



Graph No. 6

TOTAL FLOOR AREA OF RESIDENTIAL STRUCTURES BY TYPE (Square Feet)



LEGEND

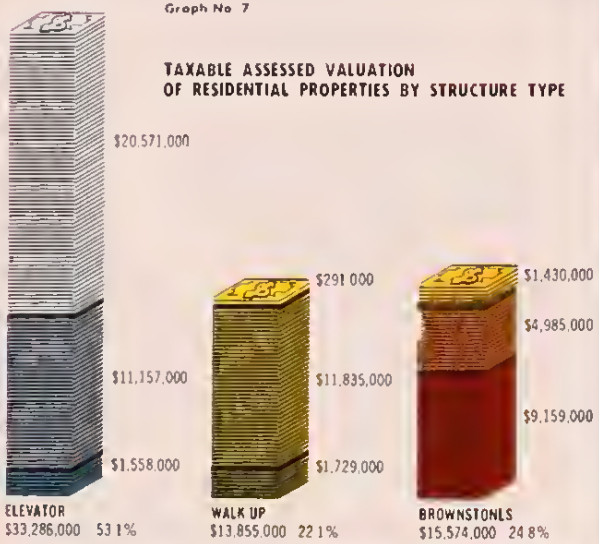
ELEVATOR BUILDINGS
- Post 1929
- New Law Tenement
- Old Law Tenement

WALK-UP BUILDINGS
- New Law Tenement
- Old Law Tenement (No Single Room Occupancy)
- Old Law Tenement (Single Room Occupancy)

BROWNSTONES
- 1-2 Family
- Multi-Family
- Rooming House

Graph No. 7

TAXABLE ASSESSED VALUATION OF RESIDENTIAL PROPERTIES BY STRUCTURE TYPE



Population and Housing in a Transitional Area

For most of its history New York City has been a major gateway opening upon a new world of opportunity. This has been true for the immigrants from overseas and for the migrants making their way to the City from the far reaches of the nation. The confluence of these two streams of population has helped to make the City a leading and vital metropolis. The outstanding event in the Study Area's history since 1950 is that it has become a principal point of settlement for new migrants, resulting in population change and turnover on a scale reminiscent of the great migrations to the City around the turn of the century.

Population Gain and Turnover

In order to describe more effectively both the high degree of space-sharing in the Study Area and the size of the relocation burden accompanying urban renewal, the concept of a family was broadened to include: (a) all married couples, whether or not living in their own household; (b) all unmarried adults except those residing with a parent. This group includes individuals living alone, individuals sharing the living quarters of an unrelated person or family, and individuals, such as a widowed mother or mother-in-law, living with a family headed by a son or son-in-law. This definition of a family results in a substantially larger number of families than would have been the case if the Census definition of "two or more related persons" had been applied. In all comparisons with 1950 Census family data, however, the figures are adjusted to a similar basis.

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In the six years following 1950, the population of the Study Area increased from 33,000 to 39,000, or 16 per cent. Even more dramatic was the fact that seven of every ten families living in the Study Area in 1956 had moved in after April 1950. Of the 17,900 families in the Area in 1956, only 5,300 had been there in 1950. Most noticeable, because of language and cultural differences, was the rise in the Puerto Rican population from 1,700 to 13,000 persons.

Many of the Puerto Rican families replaced outgoing non-Puerto Rican white families. Less well-known, though of great significance to the renewal prospects for the Area, is the fact that thousands of non-Puerto Rican white families also moved into the Area. Of the approximately 12,600 families who moved in since 1950, 6,800 or over 50 per cent, were non-Puerto Rican white families, compared to 4,300 Puerto Rican and 1,500 nonwhite families.

The sheer rapidity of population turnover would have created many difficulties aside from the obvious ones involved in the entry of a different language and cultural group. To make matters worse, the sizable growth in the Area's population was accompanied by only a negligible amount of new residential construction. The increase in the Area's housing inventory was accomplished mainly through subdivision of larger apartments and through the conversion of furnished rooms into dwelling units by the addition of minimum housekeeping equipment. The net result of these activities was a decline in housing standards in the Area. In 1956 almost 3,200, or 20 per cent, of all living quarters were overcrowded. In terms of dwelling units 1,800, or a third, were without adequate bathroom facilities.

Changes in Household Size and Composition

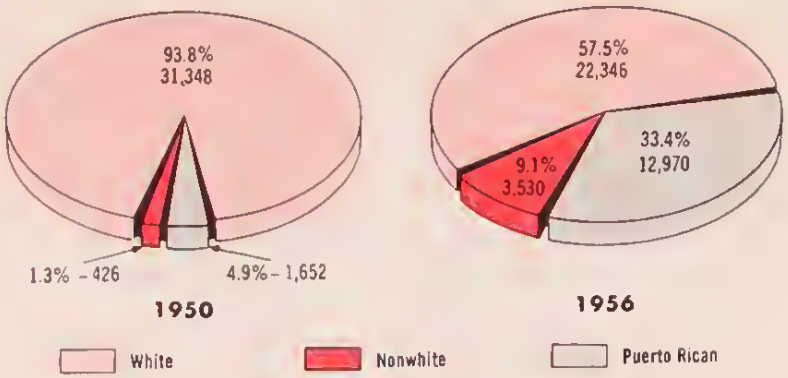
The impact of migration on the Area's housing resources cannot be understood in terms of population numbers alone, for the Area simultaneously experienced a change in household size and composition. Between 1950 and 1956 average size of household increased from 2.55 to 2.67 persons per occupied dwelling unit despite a shrinkage in average dwelling unit size. The increase in household size is mainly the result of replacement of non-Puerto Ricans having relatively small households by Puerto Ricans with relatively large households.

The larger size of Puerto Rican households is primarily due to larger family units rather than to the sharing of space with unrelated boarders and lodgers. Puerto Ricans as a group not only have a high birth rate but strong family ties as well, which lead to the sharing of housing space with adult relatives. In 1956, the Puerto Rican family in the Study Area had a median size of 3.01 members, compared to 2.43 for nonwhite and 2.16 for white non-Puerto Ricans.

The entry of Puerto Ricans affected the Area in two other ways. First,

Graph No. 8

POPULATION BY RACE AND ETHNIC GROUP 1950 AND 1956



DISTRIBUTION OF WHITE, NONWHITE AND PUERTO RICAN FAMILIES BY SIZE OF FAMILY — Study Area, 1956

Number of persons in family	All Families	Puerto Rican	White[a]	Nonwhite[b]
1	38.8%	23.5%	44.8%	37.4%
2	30.2	26.3	31.8	29.1
3	15.5	21.7	13.2	15.0
4	9.4	14.6	7.5	9.2
5	4.0	7.0	2.6	5.9
6	1.4	4.4	1	2.3
7 or more	.7	2.5	—	1.1
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Median Family Size	2.37	3.01	2.16	2.43

[a]Excluding white families of Puerto Rican origin [b]Excluding nonwhite families of Puerto Rican origin

a higher proportion of the Area's housing inventory was occupied by multi-person families rather than by unrelated individuals. Between 1950 and 1956 the number of families increased, while the number of unrelated individuals declined by more than 40 per cent. As a consequence, in 1956 unrelated individuals accounted for only 34 per cent of all families and unrelated individuals combined, compared to 48 per cent in 1950. Second, more families also meant a sharp increase in the child population of the Area.

The Number of Children Doubled

Between 1950 and 1956 the number of children under 15 more than doubled, rising from 4,200 to 8,600. Almost two-thirds of these children were in Puerto Rican families. Thus, in addition to the strains induced by language and cultural differences and by the pressure of population on housing, a sudden burden was thrown on the school, recreational and other community facilities in the Study Area.

The turnover of population produced a more youthful population not only by bringing in more children but also by bringing in younger adults. Compared to 1950 the Area had 28 per cent more people aged 25 to 34 and eight per cent less in the 65 year and over group. The median age of Area residents declined from 39.7 to 31.9 years.

The Rise in Income

Despite the remarkable increase in number of children and the entry of Puerto Ricans, the per capita income of the Study Area rose. Between 1950 and 1956 the Area's per capita money income increased from $2,134 to $2,192, or by three per cent. However, the actual increase in earning power can be evaluated by comparing the per capita income of adults only which rose by 15 per cent from $2,420 in 1950 to $2,782 in 1956. The rise in the median income of families and unrelated individuals was even greater, from $2,546 to $3,500, or 37 per cent.

How was it possible for a declining area to achieve such a striking gain in income? The evidence suggests two explanations. First, it is by no means true that all Puerto Ricans have low incomes. In 1956, more than 30 per cent of all Puerto Rican families had incomes of $3,000 or higher. Moreover, many of the whites who were replaced by newcomers were relatively low-income, unattached individuals. Second, and far more important, is the fact that throughout the six-year period the Area continued to attract non-Puerto Ricans with above average incomes. Thus the income of unrelated individuals, who accounted for a high proportion of the in-migrating whites, increased by 51 per cent ($1,913 to $2,890), compared to an increase of 15 per cent ($3,423 to $3,940) for families with two or more persons.

The ability of the Area's housing to attract consumers with higher than average incomes is a fact of strategic importance for the economic success of any urban renewal plan. While many of the white migrants settled in the elevator apartments, a substantial proportion were also found in brownstone structures on side streets where the impact of Puerto Rican migration was greatest. This suggests that the locational advantages of the Study Area remain powerful enough to overcome its

Graph No. 9

NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS BY AGE GROUPS 1950 AND 1956

MEDIAN INCOME OF FAMILIES AND UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS, Study Area, 1950 and 1956

	April 1950	July 1956	Per cent change
FAMILIES	$3,423	$3,940	+15.1
UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS	$1,913	$2,890	+51.1
FAMILIES AND UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS COMBINED	$2,546	$3,500	+37.5
PUERTO RICAN	not available	$2,553	not available
WHITE (Excluding white families and individuals of Puerto Rican origin)	not available	$4,156	not available
NONWHITE (Excluding nonwhite families and individuals of Puerto Rican origin)	not available	$2,850	not available

decline in physical quality, and results in added confidence that a strong, effective demand can be created for a renewed housing inventory in an improved neighborhood. The selective character of the white in-migrant families, who were comprised chiefly of small families and individuals, also offers important clues to the size and type of dwelling units which an urban renewal plan should provide.

Despite the existence of a sizable number of middle-income Puerto Ricans, the 1956 income picture of Puerto Ricans residing in the Study Area was quite poor. Their per capita income of $1,012 and per family median income of $2,553 stand out in sharp contrast to the corresponding incomes of non-Puerto Rican whites, which were $2,850 per capita and a median of $4,156. About 25 per cent of the Area's Puerto Rican households (or 27 per cent of all individuals) received public assistance payments in 1956. Poverty thus plays a large part in the poor housing conditions of Puerto Rican families. Continued assimilation, with further education and job experience, will almost certainly raise the earning power of Puerto Rican families, with consequent gains in rent-paying ability. This is an economic fact which must be taken into account in any urban renewal plan looking toward the future.

Current Housing Conditions

Substandard housing conditions create severe strains both for the occupants exposed to them and for the community-at-large. The strains are magnified when housing deficiencies become the particular lot of a minority group. Such was the case for Puerto Ricans in the Study Area, who accounted for 42 per cent of the families in brownstone rooming houses and 70 per cent of the families in old-law tenements with single-room occupancy, the two structure types in which most of the housing problems were concentrated.

Unlike the situation in other areas, the Study Area's housing deficiencies have less to do with structural dilapidation than with obsolescence and undesirable occupancy patterns. Overcrowding, defined as a person-per-room ratio of 1.51 or higher, and lack of private bathroom facilities represent the heart of the housing problem in the Study Area. A large proportion of the housing inventory which had been used for occupancy by unattached individuals or roomers became the habitat of multi-person family groups. Whole Puerto Rican families replaced unrelated individuals in small dwelling units. At the same time, a large

proportion of the Area's single furnished rooms were converted to dwelling units by the addition of minimum housekeeping facilities. In 1956 more than 3,000 households, two and a half times the number in 1950, were overcrowded. Ten thousand persons occupied shelter space suited for no more than 4,300. Twenty-four hundred dwelling units or 17 per cent consisted of single rooms occupied by two or more persons. Almost 11 per cent of the non-dwelling living quarters were similarly overcrowded.

In the subdivision of existing dwelling units and the conversion of furnished rooms to family occupancy, little or no provision was made for necessary bathroom facilities. As a result, 4,800 units, over one-third of the total stock of dwelling units in 1956, containing 5,300 families, lacked private or adequate bathrooms. Over two-thirds of the deficient housing conditions occurred in brownstone rooming houses and tenements converted to single-room occupancy.

Some idea of the economic problems involved in dealing with and providing for the families in such housing can be derived from an examination of prevailing rents and rent-income ratios. In 1956 the median monthly rent of all dwelling units was about $79, compared to about $55 in 1950. Unfurnished dwelling units rented for $91 and the smaller furnished dwelling units for $68 per month. The median rent paid for furnished rooms was about $8 per week.

The aggregate of reported annual rents paid was about $16,150,000, about 19 per cent of the reported $85,000,000 aggregate annual income of the Study Area. Out of the 17,900 families in the Area, approximately 9,900 paid more than 20 per cent of their income for rent; of these 58 per cent (5,700) had incomes below $3,000 per year, and 30 per cent (2,900 families) had incomes between $3,000 and $5,000 a year.

Implications for Urban Renewal

The changes in occupancy in the Study Area which have the most direct implications for renewal are as follows:

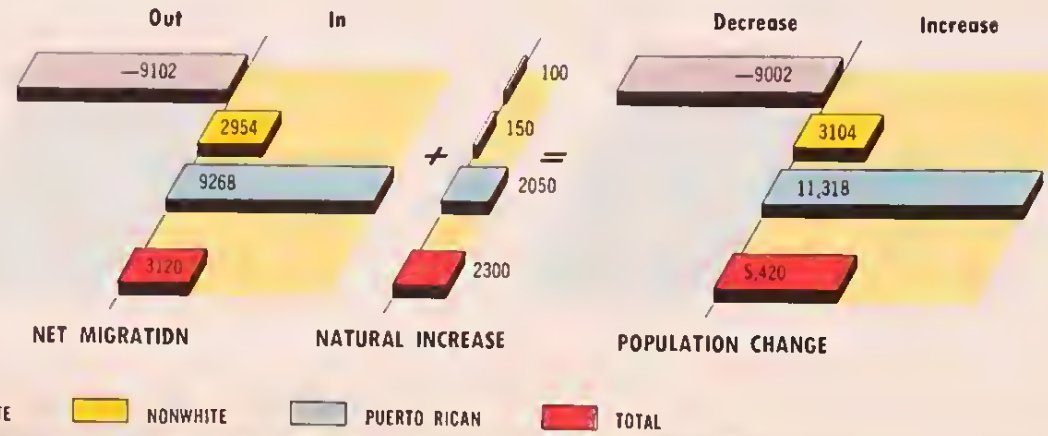
First, because of its central location and variety of housing facilities, the Area is continuing to attract ethnic, racial and income groups of all kinds.

Second, the in-migrants having the best rent-paying ability have tended to be small families or single persons sharing living quarters and thus requiring relatively small units.

Third, excessive population turnover and room overcrowding are key factors in the decline of the Area. They are largely the result of the kind of housing accommodations which, however substandard and unsatisfactory, make the Area increasingly attractive as a port of entry and way station for low-income in-migrants — particularly, although not exclusively, the Puerto Ricans who today comprise one of the mainstreams of migration into the City.

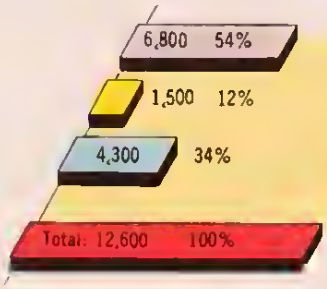
Graph No. 10

NET MIGRATION, NATURAL INCREASE AND POPULATION CHANGE FROM 1950 TO 1956



Graph No. 11

NUMBER OF FAMILIES IN THE STUDY AREA IN 1956 WHO MOVED TO PRESENT LIVING QUARTERS SINCE 1950 BY RACE AND ETHNIC GROUP.



The Changing Real Estate Market

The shifts in the Study Area's population and occupancy patterns have been accompanied by a profound transformation in the character of its real estate market. From the responsible private investor's standpoint the economic prospects of the Area have become clouded with uncertainties, creating an environment altogether unfavorable to an adequate flow of long-term capital for replacement and growth. A new class of investors has entered, willing to take high risks for high returns and quick to seize the many profit opportunities provided by rapid changes in the utilization of the Area's housing stock.

The research findings presented in this chapter indicate that the Study Area has suffered a deterioration in its investment quality and has assumed many of the characteristics of a declining area. True, not every symptom of decline is present. The Area has gained rather than lost population. Vacancies are almost non-existent. The rent roll has expanded, not contracted, and, finally, real estate prices have risen, not fallen. The evidence nevertheless shows not only a decline in housing quality but also that the Study Area has moved further down in the scale of real estate investment markets in New York City.

This loss of investor confidence is manifested in numerous ways. First, capital funds have become much harder to obtain. A larger proportion of the current flow is in the form of higher-risk equity capital rather than lower-risk debt capital; and of the reduced amount of debt capital a smaller share is provided by responsible institutional lenders, while private individuals provide a larger portion, particularly in the form of junior, i.e., second, third, etc., mortgages. Second, the price demanded by capital, both debt and equity, is higher than in other residential areas. Third, the turnover of real estate has increased as new investors have supplanted the old, and absentee ownership has become more widespread. Fourth, while real estate prices have climbed, the rise has apparently been due more to ephemeral and uncertain gains in net income than to a genuine improvement in underlying real estate values. This last can be seen both in the fact that real estate in the Area is traded at a relatively low price-to-earnings ratio, the surest index of lack of investment confidence, and in the apparent unwillingness of the tax assessor to accept current market prices as a measure of true value.

There is little question that without public action the Study Area cannot now, and will not in the future, attract enough responsible private capital for self-preservation, much less improvement. A sweeping change in the investment climate is essential if the Area is to have a creditable future. This is by no means an easy goal to achieve but neither is it hopeless. The key to investment confidence is physical renewal on a scale sufficient to cause private investors to revise their judgment of the Area's future.

Property Turnover and Ownership

Ever since the end of World War II, real property in the Study Area has turned over at a high rate relative both to Manhattan as a whole and to the Area's previous experience. Between 1950 and 1955, for example, the annual rate of property turnover averaged 9.7 per cent, twice the rate for Manhattan during the corresponding period, and more than double the Area's pre-war rate. A high and rising turnover rate in any area is prima facie evidence of basic changes in the market facts that govern investment decisions.

With the rapid entry of nonwhites and Puerto Ricans, a new combination of risks and opportunities confronted current and prospective owners. On the one hand, a different kind of real estate activity became possible — the subdivision of existing residential space, by whatever means, into smaller units which could be profitably marketed. By creating furnished facilities equipped with utilities, it now became possible to derive a higher, though not necessarily a safer, return from a given quantity of shelter space. On the other hand, those owners who would not or could not enter into this new form of activity were faced with real and imagined threats to their investments as the density of the Study Area increased and the composition of its population changed. Unanswerable questions arose. Could the better properties continue to hold the type of occupants upon which original investment decisions had been based? How would commercial real estate fare as the pattern of retail trade shifted? Could a flow of mortgage capital be maintained without penalty terms?

Whatever the causes for the high property turnover rate, one result was clear: title to real estate was being passed to a new type of owner with shallower neighborhood roots and presumably with less concern for the long-term future of the Area. By 1956 the median duration of ownership declined to seven years compared to nine years in 1945. In the case of brownstones, which felt the impact of changes in the real estate market more than any other type of property, median duration of ownership declined from thirteen to eight years for one and two family types and from about nine to about six years for other brownstone types.

The nature of ownership also changed. While there is no way of satisfactorily comparing the characteristics of new and former owners, two facts stand out. One, between 1945 and 1956 the holdings of realty corporations increased from 25 to 33 per cent, and the holdings of partnerships from 11 to 18 per cent. Two, absentee ownership increased. In 1945, 36 per cent of owners resided in their properties; by 1956 the proportion had decreased to 28 per cent. In 1945, almost 12 per cent of all owners lived outside of Manhattan, in 1956, over 23 per cent. Moreover, a considerable number of absentee owners, particularly of brownstones, completely detached themselves from management and supervision by assigning their properties to primary lessees. There is, of course, nothing intrinsically wrong about impersonal or absentee ownership of real estate. But it is reasonable to believe that resident owners have a greater stake in an area and are necessarily concerned with livability as well as net income.

The Under-Confidence of Capital

Even more important than the change in ownership is the fact that suppliers of capital became increasingly distrustful of the Study Area. The hesitancy of capital is revealed in the following ways:

1. There was almost no new construction in the Study Area for a full generation. Only one new structure was erected during the post-war construction boom.
2. Improvements of existing structures fell off sharply. There was clearly a great disinclination to plow back earnings to raise the physical quality of the standing inventory.
3. Property transactions required a higher proportion of equity capital. Compared to the pre-war period the ratio of cash to total purchase price increased from 25 to 35 per cent. An insistence on high proportions of equity is a characteristic of highly speculative investment markets.
4. The flow of mortgage capital showed an irregular decline between 1950-1955, from $3 million to $1.5 million. A smaller share of mortgage funds was supplied by financial institutions and a larger share by private lenders accustomed to making risky loans. Although 30 per cent of mortgage loans made since 1950 still came from banks and insurance companies, institutional mortgage lending was virtually limited to the higher-quality buildings on the easterly edge of the Study Area. Even there, mortgage terms were more onerous than in residential neighborhoods elsewhere in Manhattan. For example, loans on the better apartment properties in the Study Area were limited to 3.5 times the rent roll compared to an average of 4.5 elsewhere.
5. The shortage of debt capital resulted in a widespread resort to junior financing and purchase money mortgages. Junior mortgages accounted for about one-third of all mortgage recordings between 1950 and 1955. Of a total of $11 million in first mortgages during this period, about 70 per cent represented purchase money mortgages.
6. With the possible exception of loans made on the larger elevator properties, effective mortgage interest rates were higher and mortgage contract length shorter than in the residential real estate market as a whole. Although the most common contract interest rate in 1950-55 was a little above the prevailing average for this period, the effective cost of debt capital was appreciably

91st Street at Amsterdam Avenue showing the juxtaposition of modern elevator properties and brownstones. The problems in financing modernization of one type of property cannot but affect the financial status of the other.

increased by bonuses and commissions required of borrowers. The short maturities on new debt also created a chronic financial problem for the Study Area. Forty-five per cent of all loans made between 1950 and 1955 were for periods of less than five years, and 66 per cent for less than ten years.

7. Equity capital displayed the same underconfidence as debt capital. The ratio of sales price to gross rental income in the Study Area, especially for brownstone properties, was relatively low compared to that for New York City as a whole, indicating that the market was charging a high discount for risk.

Operating Returns from Real Estate

Reliable and representative statistics on operating income, expenses and rates of return on invested capital are among the most difficult of all real estate facts to obtain. However, analysis of available financial statements plus interviews with experienced real estate practitioners indicate that for the Study Area as a whole the return on invested equity in residential real estate was about 12 per cent. This is somewhat less than the average return which the real estate investor expects from apartment property in markets where rents are not controlled and in markets where institutional mortgage loans are readily available. There were, however, wide differences in profit rates for different types of buildings, with brownstones showing the highest profits. The return to equity on brownstones averaged 19 to 24 per cent after debt service, taxes and operating expenses. In the judgment of real estate practitioners, the average return on brownstones is even higher than the above figures suggest.

It should be remembered that the high return to equity on brownstones comes without benefit of liberal mortgage loans. To produce such returns, residential property must have a very great earning capacity per unit of rentable space, a capacity which can be achieved in only one way – by carving the rentable area into extremely small packages and offering each of these packages at a moderate over-all, but very high per square foot rent. It is not surprising, therefore, that annual rents per square foot in brownstone multi-family structures averaged $2.00 and brownstone rooming houses, $2.30 compared to $1.30 in all elevator buildings. Old and new law tenement walk-ups averaged $1.07 per square foot in contrast to old law tenements with single room occupancy annual per square foot rental of $2.86.

Prices and Assessed Values

Rents in the Study Area increased by about 40 per cent since 1950. It is to be expected that a substantial increase in rents and real estate earning capacity would be accompanied by a rise in real estate prices. Between 1950 and 1955 real estate prices in the Study Area climbed by an estimated 14 per cent. While this might be considered a relatively moderate price appreciation in view of the enlarged income potential of important classes of real estate in the Area, it must again be pointed out that not all properties increased their yields as a result of the change in the character of the rental market, and that even the benefited properties were subject to a high risk factor. As already mentioned, the ratio of price to gross rents for brownstone properties remained quite low, revealing that the real estate market apparently was applying a heavier discount for risk to a dollar of prospective net income earned on brownstones than is usually the case with multi-family structures. In other words, there is no compelling reason for real estate prices to keep pace with the rise in potential income.

Nor was the rise in real estate prices since 1950 matched by a commensurate rise in assessed values. Total taxable assessments in the Study Area increased by less than one per cent between 1950-51 and 1955-56. As a result the ratio of prices to assessments stood at 121 in 1956 compared to an average of 104 in 1950-51.

Whatever the reason, one important by-product of the Study Area's lagging assessed values has been a widening of the gap between derived property tax revenues and the presumptive cost of municipal services to its residents. There is no logical reason why revenues and expenditures for any given area have to be equated; and the entire question of the relation between property taxes paid and benefits received is too complex in both concept and measurement to be dismissed with a few superficial statistics. The fact nevertheless remains that, in a period of rising municipal per capita costs, the property tax contribution of the Study Area did not increase in proportion to that of the City as a whole. Between fiscal 1946 and fiscal 1956 the share of the Manhattan tax levy collected in the Study Area fell by 11 per cent.

Not the least of the gains to be sought in renewal of the Study Area, then, is a rise in its property tax base to a level more in keeping with its location and history. Renewal can be the catalyst which generates new taxable construction and, by restoring investor confidence, produces a genuinely higher level of real estate values.

Transportation, Traffic, Parking

The Study Area is one of the most conveniently located parts of the City with respect to rapid transit service. It is only a few minutes by subway from the midtown business area, and about twenty-five minutes from the downtown financial district. These Manhattan business areas, however, are located at the southern end of a long, narrow island; thus heavy traffic, including considerable trucking, travels on Manhattan north-south avenues going to and from Upper Manhattan, The Bronx, and points north and west of the City.

For the West Side, and in fact for Manhattan generally, the only opportunity for substantial traffic relief lies in the construction of arterial by-pass routes convenient for through traffic. No such routes now under construction appear likely to result in any substantial reduction in heavy traffic through the Study Area, nor are there presently any official proposals for new north-south arterial routes on Manhattan Island or in other locations which would afford substantial relief. Similarly, the principal east-west thoroughfares crossing Manhattan in or near the Study Area – West 86th Street and West 96th-97th Streets – will not be substantially relieved by arterials now under construction. Although heavy traffic is usually considered detrimental to residential neighborhoods, areas such as the East Side have developed strongly despite the fact that its avenues are even more heavily travelled than those of the West Side.

Mass Transit Facilities

Two subways serve the Study Area: the IND Eighth Avenue Line along Central Park West, with local stations at West 86th and West 96th Streets, and the IRT Broadway Line. Presently the IRT has an express stop at West 96th Street, and local stations at West 86th and West 91st Streets. Transit Authority plans call for improved lighting and lengthening of the platforms of the IRT express station at 96th Street and the local station at 86th Street so that modern eight-car trains can be used. The lengthening of the 96th Street platform will result in a new access to this station at 94th Street and Broadway, and the subsequent closing of the 91st Street IRT local station.

As noted, the Study Area has transit facilities second to none in the City – better facilities than the booming residential East Side with its single subway line. Of the 17,700 employed persons living in the Area in 1956, about 6,100 use the subways in the morning rush hours to travel to work. About 1,400 people come into the Area to work each day by subway.

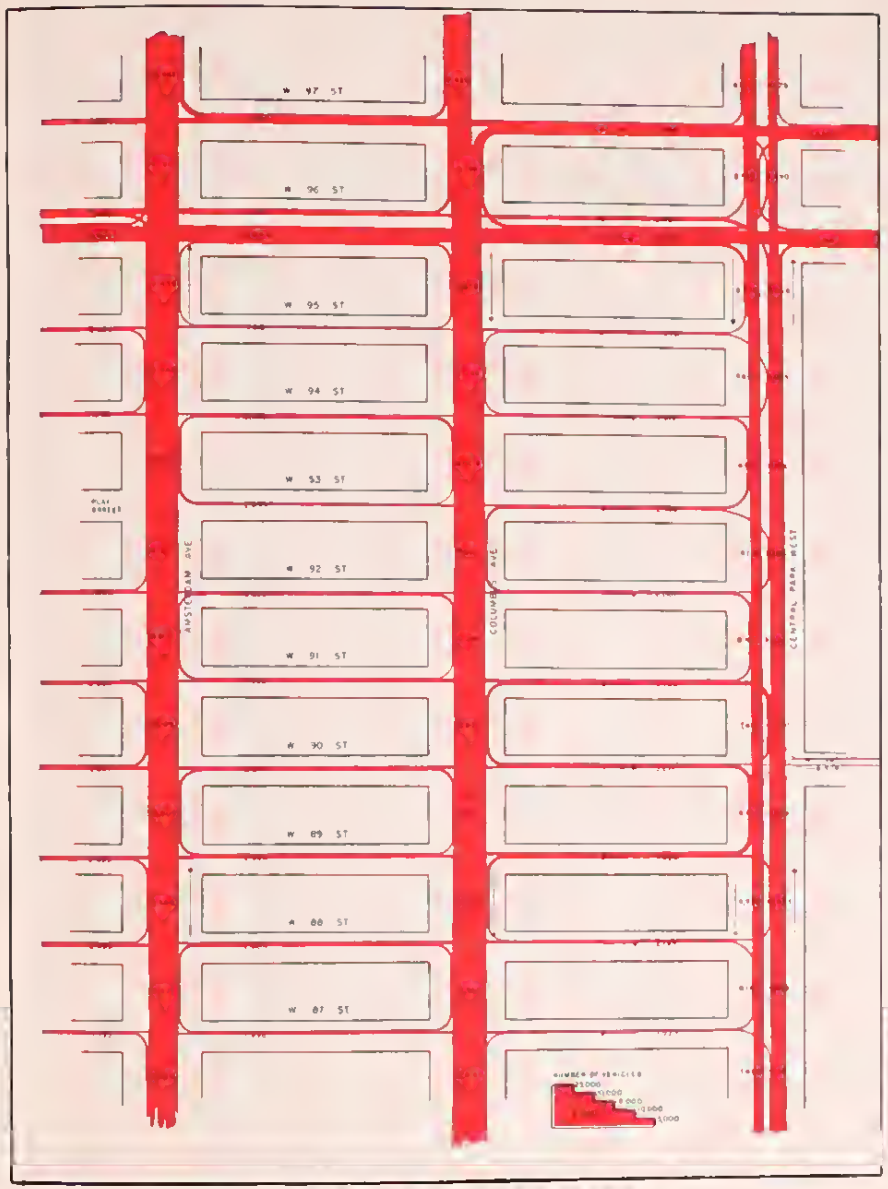
Surface bus lines run on all the north-south avenues in the Study Area and also on Broadway, the first parallel street west of Amsterdam Avenue. Trans-Manhattan bus service is operated in both directions on the West 96th-97th Street thoroughfare and on West 86th Street.

Street Traffic

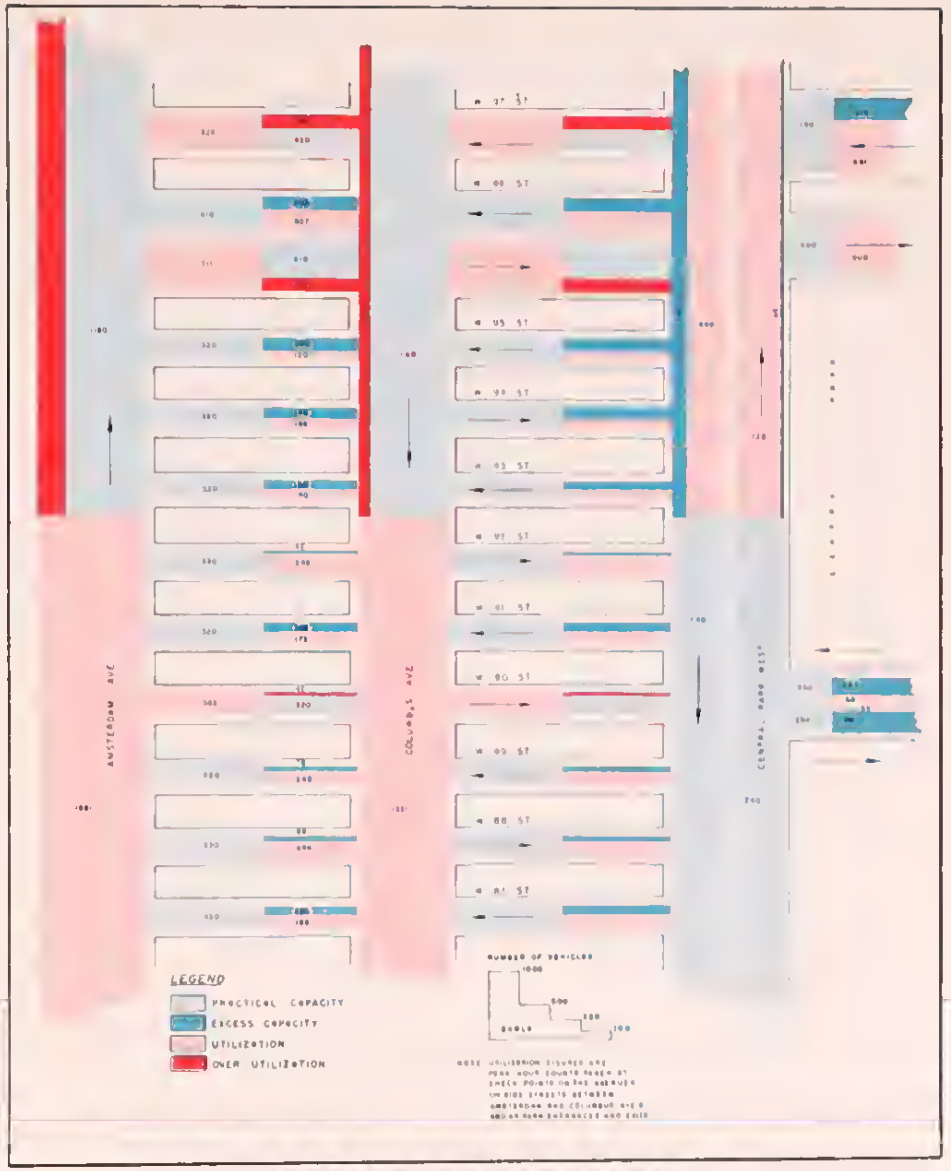
The major street traffic problem in the Study Area is the heavy through traffic on the three north-south avenues – Columbus, Amsterdam, and Central Park West. Half of the 118,000 vehicles which daily move through the street system of the Area are concentrated on these three avenues, and half of the volume on Columbus and Amsterdam Avenues are trucks, of which seven out of eight merely pass through to destinations elsewhere. Even assuming that a high percentage of the passenger cars on the avenues have their destination in the Study Area, the overwhelming proportion of the vehicles on the north-south avenues represents through traffic.

An examination of the traffic volume and utilization map indicates street traffic conditions in the Study Area. The only significant over-utilization on north-south avenues occurs on Amsterdam Avenue in the evening peak hours (37 per cent above practical capacity). Columbus Avenue is over-utilized by 17 per cent at the morning peak. Central Park West at the evening peak has 6 per cent more capacity than required, due to the exclusion of truck traffic and inferior connections north and south of the Park.

Two east-west streets, West 96th and West 97th Streets, which form part of a major trans-Manhattan thoroughfare traversing Central Park, represent the most formidable traffic bottleneck in the twenty-block Area. West 97th Street, one way west-bound between Columbus and Amsterdam Avenues, shows the highest over-utilization during the evening peak hour (63 per cent above practical capacity). West 96th Street,



TRAFFIC VOLUME
(24 hour, week-day count)



STREET UTILIZATION

a two-way thoroughfare also connecting with the Central Park road system, shows the next highest evening peak-hour over-utilization (39 per cent). West 90th Street, which connects with the Central Park internal road system, is the only other cross-street which shows any over-utilization. All the others are strictly local, and capable of handling more traffic than they now carry.

Traffic Accidents

The rate of traffic accidents in the Study Area is close to the average for residential sections of comparable population density and land use characteristics. During a two-and-a-half-year period from January 1954 to June 1956, there were 565 traffic accidents resulting in injuries, property damage, or both, in the Study Area. Of these, 289 occurred where the east-west streets crossed the heavy north-south traffic streams. The worst intersections were, as might be expected, on the West 96th-97th Street thoroughfare.

Pedestrians were injured in one-fourth of the accidents occurring at the intersections. The intersection of Amsterdam Avenue and West 96th Street was the worst from the standpoint of pedestrian accidents.

Amsterdam Avenue had a rate of pedestrian traffic accidents per foot of frontage twice as high as Central Park West, and nearly three times as high as the rate on Columbus Avenue. If traffic volume is the basis of comparison, nearly three times as many accidents per 100,000 passing vehicles occur on the streets as on the avenues. Turning movements, narrowness of moving lanes on the side streets, curb parking, relaxation of a driver's attention because of light traffic, and the tendency of children to play in the streets — all explain why the side streets have more accidents in terms of the number of passing vehicles than occur on the avenues. The need for small local public open spaces in the Study Area is emphasized by the fact that approximately one-half of the injured were under ten years of age.

Parking

Car ownership in the Study Area, on the basis of the total families in 1950 divided by the 1,800 registered passenger cars, is about 11 families per car. Car ownership is conspicuously low; the ownership ratio in the higher-income areas nearby is four families per car, and the ratio for Manhattan as a whole is five families per car.

In the five licensed garages in the twenty-block Study Area there are 600 off-street parking berths, or one berth to every 23 dwelling units in 1956. This ratio of off-street parking space to dwelling units in the Area contrasts with the ratios of 7 and 14 in the two adjacent Health Areas, and with seven in Manhattan as a whole. Off-street garage parking is scarce and costs Study Area users $35 to $45 per month per car.

There are 1,770 curb parking spaces in the Study Area, but all of these spaces are available at the same time only from 7 P.M. to 7 A.M. Though these spaces, together with available off-street facilities, are theoretically in excess of what is needed to accommodate all the vehicles registered by persons living in the Area, a variety of traffic regulations — which are required primarily to permit mechanical cleaning of the streets — cut down the actual number of spaces available on an around-the-clock basis. The consequent weekly average loss of curb spaces for the twenty blocks amounts to 42 per cent.

Assuming that 10 per cent of all cars are used each week-day and estimating a 36 per cent vacancy in the garages, more than 300 cars registered from the Study Area are without terminal facilities at midday. Since drivers from adjacent areas compete for the curb spaces, the figures given above understate the existing parking shortage in the Study Area.

Noise

Excessive noise in the Study Area is largely a matter of traffic. While a reduction in volume of all traffic would reduce the noise level, a reduction in truck and other commercial traffic would have a much greater quieting effect since the north-south avenues are the noisiest streets.

According to measurements of all types of noise taken by the New York City Police Department, Amsterdam Avenue is the noisiest street in the Study Area, with an average of background and specific noises of 75 decibels. The average for Columbus Avenue is 73 and for Central Park West 67. Noise on local side streets is substantially less.

A number of cities such as Chicago and Denver have attempted to deal with the problem of noise in urban areas through their zoning ordinances. For example, the Denver ordinance limits permissible noise to 55 decibels at the edge of a low-density residential area and to 60 decibels for the highest density areas. The noise levels on both Amsterdam and Columbus Avenues are considerably higher than these permissible levels. Since there are relatively inexpensive muffling devices available for trucks, a great deal of the traffic noise could be corrected.

Community Problems and Organization

● Since 1950, the character of the Area has changed to one of more varied income levels and mixed ethnic and racial backgrounds. While the population coming into the Study Area continues to include Europeans and residents from other parts of the United States and New York City, the largest single group of newcomers are Puerto Ricans, who now comprise one-third of the population of the Area.

The primary focus of attention of the community is on this newest in-migrant group, which differs in language, cultural background and racial composition. While New Yorkers are proud of the City's melting-pot tradition and recognize the advantages which have accrued from past waves of in-migration, the settled residents and each new group coming in go through a difficult adjustment period which the experiences of the past can temper but not eliminate.

The size of the Puerto Rican in-migrant population and the fact that they have contributed to the over-crowding and deterioration of the Area have aroused fear and hostility. This reaction is often in excess of what actual conditions might warrant. Much of the fear of crime and violence expressed by long-time residents of the Area is not related to knowledge of specific incidents. It is often generalized and associated with Puerto Ricans. In reality, the delinquent children and youth of the Area (ages 6-20) have about the same distribution by ethnic group as does the total population of the Area.

While the fears of crime and violence are greater than the reality, delinquency and crime have nevertheless increased in recent years. Because of this increase, the Police Department instituted a program providing for saturation coverage in the 24th Precinct, which includes the Study Area. Leaders in the Area have expressed satisfaction with the understanding way in which this new program has been administered. The Precinct Captain reports a slight decrease in the number of arrests since the program went into operation in the spring of 1955 and a marked decrease in crimes of violence. However, the number of narcotics users committing thefts out of desperation to get money for drugs keeps the number of arrests high.

The barrier of language makes it difficult for most long-time residents of the Study Area to know the many adjustments the Puerto Rican has to make to live in New York City. The newcomer finds that other New Yorkers disapprove of his use of the out-of-doors as an extension of his home as he did in sub-tropical Puerto Rico. Racial differences, which receive less emphasis in Puerto Rico, assume great importance here and influence where he may live, the kind of employment he can get, and the way other residents regard him.

Most of the problems facing Puerto Ricans as the latest in-migrant group have been faced by others before them. However, no reliable studies were found which could throw light on the speed with which Puerto Rican families are becoming assimilated into communities on the mainland.

While there is fear and suspicion of Puerto Ricans in some quarters in the Study Area, it would be misleading to suggest that this is the predominant attitude. In churches, parents' associations, block associations, and civic groups, Puerto Rican and non-Puerto Rican neighbors have come to know and understand each other by working together to achieve common goals, although the number of Puerto Rican adults participating in such activities is small. There is a more widespread acceptance of this new population group by established members of the community than might have been anticipated in such a relatively short period of time.

SCHOOLS AND SERVICES

The adequacy of school facilities and programs is an important element in maintaining a residential area, particularly because of the important part schools play in the decisions of families to come into or remain in a neighborhood. The Upper West Side has both modern and obsolete school buildings; but plans are under way to replace all of the latter. In the elementary schools serving the Study Area, although not in the junior high school, there is a very striking stability of teaching staff, contrary to the experience of problem schools in other areas. The situation is different in the junior high school as a result of a general teacher shortage at this level throughout the City and the resulting need to use a large number of substitutes. Considerable overcrowding has developed in all of the schools serving the Area as the result of the

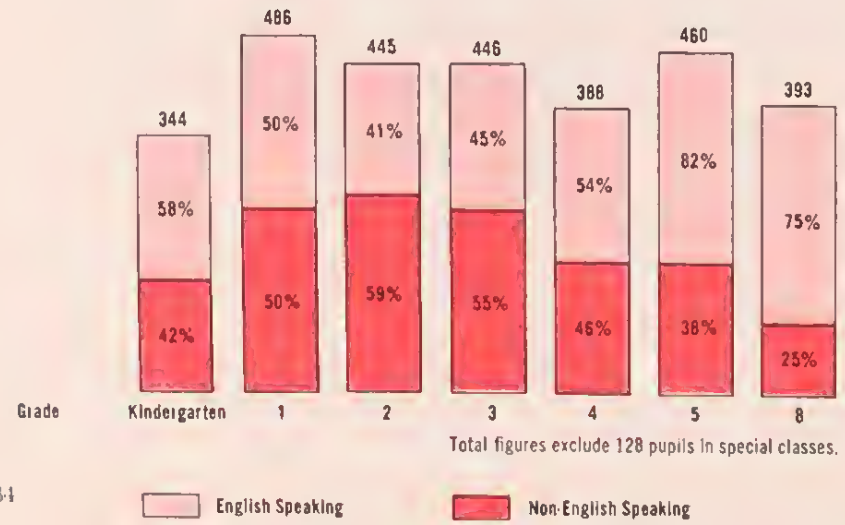
influx of a large number of Puerto Rican children, the majority non-English speaking children for whom special programs have been required.

Public Elementary Schools

Three public elementary schools serve practically all of the Study Area; P.S. 93, at Amsterdam Avenue and West 93rd Street, serving approximately eight blocks, P.S. 166, on West 89th Street between Amsterdam Avenue and Columbus Avenue, six blocks, and P.S. 75, at West End Avenue and West 96th Street, five blocks. A fourth school, P.S. 179, at 140 West 102nd Street, has been omitted from the discussion because under present school districting the only part of the Study Area served by it is the south side of West 97th Street between Central Park West and Amsterdam Avenues. Two of the first three schools to be considered here are in adequate buildings. The third, P.S. 93, a partially non-fireproof building built in 1891 and 1898, is an outmoded structure unsuitable for a modern educational program. None of the schools has adequate outdoor playgrounds. (An area of 21,400 square feet of playground space for P.S. 75 has recently been acquired by the Board of Education near the western end of the block on which the school is located.) This lack of space for recreation handicaps both the regular school program and the afterschool community centers.

Graph No. 12

PROPORTION OF NON-ENGLISH SPEAKING PUPILS, BY GRADE (P.S. 75, 93, 166; OCT. 31, 1957)



Total figures exclude 128 pupils in special classes.

At the start of the 1957-58 school year, 55 per cent of the pupils of the three elementary schools were non-English speaking, most of them newly arrived from Puerto Rico. In order to meet the needs of these children without holding back the English-speaking children, the Board of Education has developed a special program which includes orientation classes for the newly arrived non-English speaking children, and, after orientation, regular classes of less than 25 pupils when 50 per cent or more of the pupils are non-English speaking. The program also includes the use of special teachers, usually with a knowledge of Spanish, to provide a variety of auxiliary services.

As a result of adopting this special program, the schools are overcrowded since none of the elementary schools serving the Study Area has sufficient extra space to carry it out. In September 1957, there were 672 pupils on extra session, an increase of 80 over the previous year. Libraries and science rooms have to be used for regular classes; and special teachers and Bureau of Child Guidance staff have to work and conduct interviews in cloak rooms, teachers' rooms, and other makeshift space.

The teaching process is complicated by the heavy turnover of children throughout the school year. P.S. 93 with a total school enrollment of 1,083 had 554 admissions and 533 discharges during the school year 1956-57, exclusive of first time enrollees in kindergarten and first grade, and sixth grade graduates.

Junior High and High Schools

Joan of Arc Junior High School, which serves the Study Area, was severely overcrowded until the opening in January 1958 of the new J.H.S. 44, on West 76th Street. Joan of Arc, built in 1940, has an adequate and well equipped physical plant. Its playground, however, is too small for the approximately 1,300 children enrolled.

From data supplied by the Board of Education it is possible to get some indication of the distribution of pupils in the general area among academic and vocational high schools in Manhattan and other boroughs. The data, covering 22 high schools and 493 tenth grade pupils, showed that the largest proportion, 22 per cent, attend the High School of Commerce, West 65th Street and Amsterdam Avenue; 13 per cent attend the High School of Music and Art, West 135th Street and Convent Avenue; the third largest, nine per cent, attend the Charles Evans Hughes High School, 351 West 18th Street. The balance attend one of

19 other academic or vocational schools. The data indicate that 62 per cent attend academic high schools, many of which offer technical and vocational as well as academic courses. Thirty-eight per cent attend vocational schools.

The High School of Commerce is a coeducational high school offering both academic and commercial courses and is districted to serve all of Manhattan. It is the high school closest to the Study Area, but is in an old and obsolete building. While it accounts for the largest proportion of pupils in the figures above, only 26 per cent of its enrollment of 2,336 students come from the West Side between West 42nd Street and West 130th Street. In its building program, the Board of Education has included plans for modernization of the High School of Commerce.

Roman Catholic Parochial Schools

Two Roman Catholic parochial schools (grades one through eight) — St. Gregory the Great School at 144 West 90th Street, and Holy Name School at 200 West 97th Street — serve approximately 1,000 children from the Study Area, including a substantial number of Puerto Rican pupils. Classes in these two schools are larger than in public schools, with enrollments of between 40 and 50 per class. Instruction is entirely in English.

The parochial schools, like the public schools, lack adequate outdoor play space. Holy Name School has the use of the indoor space of its Youth Center but has no outdoor playground. St. Gregory's School has a small outdoor yard, but it is inadequate for the school's needs.

Other Private Schools

Eight private schools in and adjacent to the Study Area have a total of 376 children, or 18 per cent of their enrollments, from the Study Area. Seven of the eight schools have scholarship programs, two reporting that one-third of their students were receiving full or partial scholarships. These schools have all been in Park West for several decades and are an established part of the community.

ENROLLMENT IN PUBLIC ELEMENTARY, PAROCHIAL AND OTHER PRIVATE SCHOOLS SERVING THE STUDY AREA 1956-1957 SCHOOL YEAR

	Grades	Total Enrollment	Estimated Enrollment From Study Area
Public Elementary Schools	K-6	3,096	1,747
Parochial Schools	1-8	1,720	1,035
Private Schools	K-12[a]	2,108	376
Total		6,924	3,158

[a]Some private schools included do not have classes for all grades.

OTHER COMMUNITY SERVICES

The demands on community services of all kinds increase markedly when an area becomes overcrowded and begins to deteriorate. Such areas require more policing, more attention to the enforcement of the multiple dwelling laws, more free and low-cost hospital care, more public assistance. The need also becomes greater for recreational programs, for day care for young children, and for counselling services for families in trouble. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Study Area has an array of needs for service beyond the capacity of existing agencies and personnel to supply.

Public Assistance

Approximately 11 per cent of the individuals in the Study Area are receiving public assistance from the New York City Department of Welfare, in contrast to a City-wide percentage of 3.5 at the time of the study. A considerable portion of these are receiving only supplemental assistance. Seventy-eight per cent of those benefiting from public assistance in the Study Area are Puerto Rican, or 26.7 per cent of the Puerto Rican individuals in the Area. This proportion is not surprising in an area of first residence where many families face problems in securing employment with adequate wages and finding living accommodations at rents they can afford. The proportion of Puerto Rican individuals receiving public assistance for the City as a whole is 14.7 per cent.

Almost 94 per cent of public assistance families in the Study Area are living in furnished living quarters, the Department of Welfare having no better housing to offer. While some of these are adequate, a large number are overcrowded and substandard. This is a matter of serious concern for the City, since the Department of Welfare is in the anomalous position of having to pay legal rents for housing unsuited to family living.

Counselling Service

Many families in the Study Area require the assistance of counselling agencies to help them work out problems which disturb family life and contribute to delinquency and mental illness. The amount of such service available to the Area is limited. Only 125 cases were handled during a recent six-month period by the voluntary family agencies, the Bureau of Child Guidance and the Board of Education Referral Unit. (Referral Units are a joint project of the New York City Youth Board and the Board of Education. They work through the schools to identify

Only a small proportion of the children of working parents in the Study Area can be cared for in the Open Door Child Care Center in P.S. 179 on 102nd Street.

and help maladjusted youngsters and potential delinquents at an early age.) A number of factors contribute to this low volume: the length of the treatment period for many families, the large geographic areas covered through the district offices of most of these agencies, the remoteness of most of these offices from the Area, and insufficient staff.

Day Care

Day care facilities for the young children of working mothers are essential to all urban communities, and particularly in areas where both parents frequently have to work to meet basic expenses. Pre-school children need full day care and young school-age children need supervised care after their school day and until their parents return from work. Day care facilities available to the Study Area are at present very limited; two public, one parochial and three private centers, all serving larger areas, can accommodate only 160 children between the ages of three and eight from the Study Area.

The Day Care Centers serving the Study Area have long waiting lists for both pre-school and young school-age children. Local school authorities are concerned about the informal and unsatisfactory arrangements which parents now often have to make for the day care of young children. No really effective program to control this can be carried out unless space is available in approved day care facilities.

Health

The majority of Study Area residents are able to pay for private medical care; they have their own physicians and use voluntary and private hospitals in various parts of the City. A substantial number, however, have such low incomes as to require free or low-cost clinic and hospital care. The facilities for this latter group are taxed to the limit, maternity and pediatric clinics being particularly overcrowded.

The Department of Health, in addition to its other functions, operates prenatal and other health clinics as a part of a program of preventive care, and supervises the medical and dental programs in public schools. A new building just north of the Study Area is scheduled to be built to house the Riverside District Health Center, through which residents of the Study Area will receive service. A number of voluntary health agencies work closely with the Department of Health in the operation of the program for the general area.

Recreation

There is general recognition in the Area of the need for more organized recreational service. While a substantial program is now in operation, the need is particularly great because of the very large number of children and young people in the population. Joan of Arc Community Center and Holy Name Youth Center operate the largest programs used by residents of the Area. There are, in addition, 22 other programs operated by private and public agencies, churches and synagogues, which vary in size and the number of days a week during which they are available. A generous estimate of 2,500 young children, teen-agers and adults, most of them under twenty-five, had some contact with some one of these programs in 1956. (This figure represents less than one-fourth of the Area population between the ages of five and twenty-four.)

The Study Area does not have a neighborhood house or an agency with a similar function which could operate a flexible program to meet specific and changing community needs, among them recreation. There are, for example, many physical facilities in the Study Area not being fully utilized. While they are not committed in any way, several private schools and religious institutions have expressed willingness to consider making space available to the community if an appropriate program can be worked out and supervisory personnel provided.

There are playgrounds and athletic fields in Central Park and along Riverside Drive which are quite adequate for older children who can safely travel some distance from home. As noted, the playgrounds of the schools which serve the Study Area and which are available for use during school hours and for community use after school are inadequate. A number of small play areas for little children along the edge of Central Park and Riverside Drive meet the needs of families living adjacent to the Park and the Drive. However, community leaders stress the need for more of these open areas between the parks, as play space for little children close to home and sitting space for mothers and older people.

Control of Delinquency

Recreation programs have been expanded significantly since 1950

as a part of the community's effort to prevent the increase of delinquency. Additional counselling services have been provided through casework agencies and the Board of Education's Park West Referral Unit. The expansion of services has been a joint undertaking of community leadership and public and private agencies, as part of a City and State-wide attack on the problems of delinquency. In the City, the program is under the leadership of the New York City Youth Board, which has provided the major portion of the funds for the expanded program in the Area. (In 1951 the Youth Board extended service to the upper portion of Park West from West 86th Street to West 110th Street; the area from West 58th Street to West 86th Street was added in 1955.)

Seven recreation and counselling agencies serving the Study Area receive funds from the Youth Board to enable them to extend their services to more young people and their families in the community. For example, the Youth Board supplements the Board of Education budget for Joan of Arc Community Center by $30,000.

While these programs of prevention and control cannot offset all of the effects of the increasing overcrowding and general deterioration, leaders in the Study Area are in general agreement that the expanded program made possible by Youth Board direction and funds has proved effective. Increased staffing of the Police Precinct also has been an aid in maintaining order in the general area and has helped to reduce the fear of violence.

The Aged

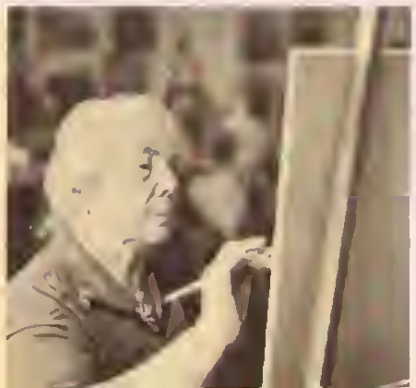
While much attention in the Study Area is focused on children and youth, concern is also expressed in many quarters about those 65 years and over. This group, constituting 7.4 per cent of the population of the Study Area, number 2,885 individuals. Since more than 60 per cent in this age group have incomes under $2,000, many cannot pay for either adequate housing or other essentials and are dependent upon services offered by public and private agencies. Over 300 of the aged group in the Study Area are receiving Old Age Assistance; others are living on Social Security pensions or are living with relatives. These people and others with limited incomes use hospital clinic services extensively. However, there are no general clinic services in the immediate vicinity which give particular attention to the needs of the aged.

Programs for older people which offer opportunities for social contacts and creative and recreational outlets are assuming greater importance as larger numbers in this age group follow the pattern of remaining in their own homes as long as their health will permit. The Katherine Engel Day Center, formerly the Council Club for Older People, has recently moved to 96th Street and Broadway, immediately adjacent to the Study Area, and has expanded its facilities and program. There are, in addition, a number of clubs for older people sponsored by agencies or religious institutions which meet once or twice a week. One of these is connected with the Joan of Arc Community Center.

All of these services, operating at capacity, still serve a relatively small portion of the aged population of the Study Area. The need for more such facilities is generally recognized.

Apartments at reasonable rents are an urgent need for a portion of the aged population who are in good health and able to maintain themselves independently. Older people are no different from other age groups in this regard, except that they are less able to travel about to seek out other accommodations, and they have no prospect of increased income which might eventually bring more adequate housing within their reach.

Additional facilities are needed in the Study Area where older people can find congenial recreation as in the Katherine Engle Day Care Center, 96th and Broadway.



COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION PATTERN

The degree to which the citizens in a community are willing to participate in planning and carrying out programs to meet pressing local needs is a measure of its vitality. There are many Park West and some neighborhood organizations which represent the efforts of citizens and agencies to solve their common problems. The study staff held over 200 interviews and conferences with representatives of these community and neighborhood organizations and agencies and with City-wide official and voluntary groups having some direct relationship to the Study Area. The staff gathered data on the function and programs of these organizations and recorded their suggestions as to how the Study Area could be effectively renewed.

The 1957 community Clean-up, Fix-up, Paint-up contest staged by the Riverside Neighborhood Assembly ends in a free paint job on the building fronts on 94th Street.

Local Neighborhood Organizations

The Study Area has never been thought of as a distinct neighborhood although it began to take on some individual identity as the Study progressed. There are, however, a number of local activities going on within it, such as block associations, churches with neighborhood activities, and parents' associations identified with the schools serving the Area. These local groups have never combined within this geographic area to meet common problems. Many of the members of these local groups met each other for the first time in discussions of urban renewal.

Since it would be important in any urban renewal venture for the citizens in the neighborhood to work together in its implementation, special attention was paid to these local groups now functioning within or on the periphery of the Study Area. There are five block associations within the Study Area in which owners and tenants have organized to improve properties and living conditions. They have engaged in such programs as the planting of trees, encouraging the rehabilitation of brownstones, and persuading landlords and tenants to improve conditions in some properties. It was found that while property owners had taken the initiative in all of these associations, tenants have been invited to participate in some cases. The study revealed that the majority of the blocks still have 15 or more resident owners, providing a good nucleus for organization. While leaders of the block associations have raised strenuous objections to living conditions in some furnished-room houses in their blocks where Puerto Rican families live, they point out that these objections should not be construed as hostility towards Puerto Ricans in general. Each of the associations now functioning has an inter-racial and inter-ethnic membership.

Parents' associations of the local public schools are vitally concerned with many of the problems of the Area which have a direct bearing on child welfare. Their knowledge of the neighborhood is first-hand and specific. Most of them are giving a considerable portion of their time to developing practical ways in which Puerto Rican and non-Puerto Rican parents can learn to know each other. Their programs for parents include social and educational activities which represent a sustained effort to strengthen the relationships among all ethnic groups. The actual number of parents involved in these activities is small in comparison to the population, partly because of the mobility of the families in the Area.

All of the 23 churches and synagogues in and adjacent to the Study Area are affected by conditions in the general neighborhood. Some are remaining aloof; others participate with City-wide or Park West organizations in an effort to find solutions to community problems. A smaller group is developing neighborhood ministries which bring them directly into contact with the problems of housing exploitation and adjustment faced by many residents of the Area. Here mainlanders and Puerto Ricans are becoming acquainted as the churches try to find ways to alleviate some of the suffering they find.

Churches, civic organizations, political clubs and other groups are operating Housing Clinics, staffed for the most part by volunteers. Such clinics have been set up at the suggestion of the Department of Buildings in many parts of the City as an aid in the enforcement of the Multiple Dwelling Law. These clinics provide information to landlords and tenants concerning their rights and responsibilities under the law and assist applicants in the processing of complaints concerning violations. Applications to clinics have fallen off since the start of the program in 1955, perhaps in part because of the complex nature of the problems. One clinic reported that it had taken more than six months

and a heavy investment of man hours to see one case through to a successful conclusion.

It is apparent from interviews and meetings with these local organizations that a substantial number of residents would be interested in participating in planning and carrying through a renewal project. These people have diverse economic and cultural backgrounds and can be expected to have different interests and goals in renewal. However they have a common conviction about the necessity for improvement of the Area and appear to have a greater degree of tolerance of cultural differences than might be expected.

Park West Community Organizations

The study revealed that most of the formal organizations which local citizens have set up to solve their problems have been designed to serve all of Park West. The local weekly newspaper provides extensive coverage of local civic activities and provides a sense of common identity for the organizations of the Park West community. The organizations run the gamut of the interests and concerns of an area of a large city. Some have a single function, such as the business life of the community, housing, or the recreational programs in the public schools. Others, with broader statements of function, are concerned with the whole range of community problems.

These organizations have attempted to deal with all of the problems which have been discussed in this portion of the report. For example, several gave leadership to the housing clinic program; one has been particularly instrumental in securing new and expanded recreational services in public schools; several have stimulated the development of a variety of programs to promote integration.

The planning of programs to meet local needs, however, is often fragmentary and does not utilize the full resources of the community. In the course of the Study the statements of purpose of nine Park West community organizations were compared. The comparison revealed considerable overlapping of function and, although several statements included an intention to discharge a general coordinating responsibility, no one group is recognized as a central coordinating and planning body for the community. As a consequence, while Park West organizations have similar points of view on many issues, their combined influence can rarely be brought to bear on specific community problems.

The leaders in all of these organizations recognize how cumbersome their operational machinery has become, how it has increased in complexity, as is so often the case in deteriorating areas, because no group could successfully stop the process of deterioration by its own efforts. The community has grouped and regrouped its forces, setting up one organization after another with the hope that the newest one could achieve greater success. Each has marked achievements to its credit, but the total effort has succeeded in retarding deterioration, not in stopping it.

Much of the planning and carrying through of an urban renewal project would require the cooperation of community organizations at the Park West level as well as in the neighborhood. For this reason, the study has attempted to assess the potentiality for improved cooperation among organizations at this level. The recognition of the problem by all of the organizations involved is significant. There is also evidence of some efforts to consolidate forces and attempt joint action. Most important, there has been a positive reaction to the prospect of urban renewal and a willingness to participate fully in planning. Since this program offers the possibility for the achievement of many of the goals of these organizations, it is believed that they will find improved ways to work together on the carrying out of renewal.

Relationship of City-Wide Community Planning Organizations to the Urban Renewal Area

As indicated above, the Study Area needs additional services, many of which come from City-wide agencies, both public and private. There has been a good deal of contact on specific needs between local agencies and organizations and City-wide groups — for example, with the Board of Education in regard to recreation services and special school programs for non-English speaking children.

Relationships with the broad social planning organizations at the City-wide level such as the Community Council of Greater New York and the Citizens' Housing and Planning Council are sporadic. The study shows that Park West organizations on occasion make use of these organizations, and local citizens and professional workers from Park West serve on committees of both. However, there is little indication of close or continuous relationship between local and City-wide groups except in the settlement or neighborhood house field where local neighborhood houses maintain relationships to each other and to their City-wide organization, the United Neighborhood Houses.

Goals of Renewal

In amending the Housing Act in 1954 the Congress made loans and grants for renewal conditional upon a plan of action which would deal effectively with the total problem of urban blight. Such a plan was to be based upon the establishment and preservation of a well planned community with well organized residential neighborhoods of decent homes providing a suitable living environment for adequate family life. Renewal was to utilize appropriate private and public resources to eliminate and prevent the development or spread of urban blight, and encourage needed urban rehabilitation and other feasible community activities leading to the revitalization of deteriorating areas.

How can these general goals laid down by the Congress be translated into a program which will renew an area with the problems described in this report? What is more, how can a plan for the twenty blocks of the Study Area be a prototype for a City-wide renewal program? To make a plan which would solve the problems of one small part of the City would not be too difficult if all available resources were concentrated in a single neighborhood; this is not the problem. What is proposed for the Study Area must be of such a nature that it can be repeated again and again in the constant modernization and reconstruction which must take place in every city.

It was with this in mind that the objectives of a renewal plan for the Study Area were established. A clear statement of the goals of renewal will make it possible to judge a program's success against realistic standards and curb the expectation that it will solve all separate though related social and physical problems in the fields of housing and city planning. This chapter thus lists and defines the basic aims of this renewal study and sets limits for the building and area plans which follow.

The Reduction of Population Turnover

As shown, the Study Area is, and throughout its history has been, a residential area. Its central location in the City continues to make it attractive to a wide variety of income and ethnic groups. Renewal should maintain and improve this residential character of the Area. It is normal for a neighborhood like the Study Area, in the center of a metropolis the size of New York, to have a high population turnover. When, however, a school has a 50 per cent turnover in a single year, the population mobility has exceeded the limits which would enable the Area's residents to participate normally in neighborhood affairs. Consequently, among the most important goals of renewal must be the reduction of the present level of population turnover to one permitting continuity in community life.

Economic and Social Integration

A statement made by Mayor Wagner in 1956 applies to the Study Area and to a renewal program generally:

> *"As a matter of morality as well as law, all New Yorkers must have the right to bargain for their shelter in a freely open, competitive housing market. Our effort is to establish the right and the opportunity of anyone to move in any neighborhood, as his desire and income may dictate."*

The need for economic integration, on the other hand, is perhaps not so widely appreciated. Unless this is achieved, the City will increasingly be divided into economic-class neighborhoods. In an economically integrated area, there is opportunity for influence and leadership from all income groups to be brought to bear on the development of a cohesive local community.

The Park West community and the Study Area, like many other sections of the City, have always been economically integrated; there has long been high-rental housing along Central Park West while Columbus Avenue was developed with low-rental housing. There has been a wide variation in rentals in the brownstones along the connecting side streets. Although this original pattern left much to be desired from a design point of view, it was a balanced neighborhood in a democratic pattern with considerable character which should be maintained.

An economically integrated community also must have fairly extensive provisions for middle-income families, not just for high-rental and public housing tenants. The frequent statement that Manhattan is becoming a place where only the rich and the poor can live, each in their own neighborhood, may become a reality unless greater provision is

Public walk in block center would provide attractive environment for both new and rehabilitated buildings. See page 56

made for the middle-income family who can pay higher rents than public housing tenants but who cannot afford the rents private developers must charge.

Reduction of Overcrowding

Elimination of the room overcrowding which is most prevalent in the brownstone rooming-houses and the single-room occupancy old-law tenements is also one of the goals of renewal. Overcrowding adversely affects both the occupants of such living quarters and the neighborhood in general. Without correction of over-occupancy in the Study Area there is little hope that it would attract new investment. Nor is it possible to assure adequate schools, open spaces, recreation facilities and the like for the population when the housing stock is occupied by more than the number of people it was designed to accommodate.

Minimum Public Subsidies

Any one renewal area could of course be heavily subsidized, but if a City-wide program is to be successful, one of the goals of renewal must be to keep the use of public funds, where required, to a minimum. This holds true whether the public support comes from the City in the form of tax concessions, or from the Federal government through write-downs.

The national demand for the available Federal funds is rising as programs of redevelopment and renewal get under way in cities all over the country. In response to the demand, Federal officials are tightening up their requirements. This trend will continue and projects which are planned to get the most for every dollar will tend to be favored.

Maximum Private Investment

Both to reduce the burden on the public treasury and fulfill the philosophy of the Federal renewal program, the fullest amount of private development must be encouraged. But private capital can be induced only by making the investment attractive both as to safety and return. In view of the declining confidence on the part of investors in the Study Area as summarized previously, this will take careful planning so that public programs will clear out the worst areas and make selected building sites and rehabilitation projects attractive to investors in privately financed rental housing and to families investing in cooperative middle-income structures.

Civic Design

While the physical basis of renewal is to keep the buildings which are good, rehabilitate where feasible, and demolish and replace with new structures where warranted by the condition of the existing buildings, the design goal of renewal is good architecture and an attractive over-all neighborhood plan. The proposals for physical renewal must not be routine mechanical solutions of building deficiencies and adequate space allocations for public open areas, institutional uses, traffic and commercial needs. All these things are good and necessary and will be presented in this report, but they are not enough. The proposals must be more than a combination of high and low buildings; they must be a pleasing combination presenting a harmonious relationship between buildings and open spaces.

Rehabilitation

In renewing a local urban area another of the basic aims is to rehabilitate as much of the existing housing stock as is practical so as to conserve the investment being lost through premature obsolescence. It would make little sense to remodel an old building if it would cost more than to erect a new one unless accompanied by demonstrable benefits which would justify added costs. Rehabilitation which results in a structure with acceptable design and well-laid out dwellings, must be carried financially by the anticipated rentals.

Cost comparisons between rehabilitated old buildings and completely new ones should take into account structural differences, viz., a new fireproof concrete and steel structure would justify a longer term mortgage than a rehabilitated brownstone. The most meaningful cost comparisons between these two structural types would therefore be in terms of the monthly cost of shelter rather than the cost of construction or rehabilitation.

Density

Raising the population density in the already high-density Study Area would overload the public open spaces, the schools and other community facilities, and, possibly, the transit and street system. On the other hand, if the density of the Study Area were lowered, the land cost per dwelling unit would be higher. In the boom which resulted in the erection of the apartment buildings to the west of the Study Area, for example, the costs of acquiring and demolishing the earlier buildings

were met out of increased rentals and by building more apartments on each plot. If renewal is to appreciably lower the density of an area, these costs must be met out of the public treasury since the present owners must be paid a fair price based upon the market value of their property.

There are areas in which renewal would change the density, but in view of its location at the center of New York City, its transportation facilities, its proximity to large parks, the goal is to renew the Study Area at approximately the existing density.

Tax Returns

The goal for the Study Area is to raise the present real estate tax return. It was felt that if the Area with its advantages and attractions for diverse population groups of all incomes could not pay its way in renewal over the long run in terms of its tax return, the cost of a City-wide renewal program would appear to be so staggering that it would meet with little or no official or public acceptance. It is of course not necessary that every block or every neighborhood in the City yield a greater tax return upon renewal, but it is necessary to have such a result from as many local renewal projects as possible in a City-wide program.

Small Builders

Another of the goals of renewal is to give the average and smaller builder and real estate firm the opportunity to participate in rebuilding our cities, an activity which heretofore has been virtually dominated by large redevelopment firms Wider participation is possible because land will not be available only in large parcels. As a result of this variation in parcel size and the absence of very large parcels, the contract unit in most renewal plans could be a single building or small group of structures. In each case it should be possible for a large number of different types of builders or investors to tender bids on real estate which fits into the pattern of their regular construction operations. Keeping this possibility open is particularly desirable in rehabilitation since such work in New York City has traditionally been done by smaller contractors.

Community Participation

Not the least of the goals of renewal is the full participation of the local community in the entire process. This is both necessary and desirable. It is necessary because renewal by its nature does not disturb the greatest part of the population at any one time. Renewal would necessarily take place over a considerable period and a large proportion of the existing population would remain after the bulk of the rehabilitation and new construction were completed. The community institutions and organizations would not be wiped out, but strengthened by the process. It is inevitable that the people of a neighborhood undergoing renewal will actively interest themselves in all phases of the operation. With this interest their active support must be secured and maintained. If renewal is to succeed in a continuing program, such local support is essential if the support from any government level – local, State, or Federal – is to be assured.

This is as it should be in a democratic society. It follows that the community must play a part in the planning and effectuation of renewal. Plans of course must be drawn by professionals – city planners, architects, engineers and by experts in many fields – but they work for the people of the neighborhood as well as for the City as a whole. Thus renewal becomes one of the ways in which participation in public affairs can be returned to the local level.

Tree planting by the West 87th Street Park Block Association

Physical Plans for Renewal

Renewal of the Study Area can be achieved by a wide variety of physical plans. The design and procedures outlined below, though the product of considerable study, should be regarded as suggestive rather than recommended solutions – as illustrative models rather than working drawings. Only an operating renewal agency has the authority to devise a final plan.

Two physical plans are presented, each having two variants. Plan A differs from Plan B mainly in the amount of emphasis given to rehabilitation as compared to new construction. Testing the feasibility of rehabilitation requires a thorough architectural study of existing structures. To conserve resources, the building-by-building survey was limited to an eight block section, referred to here as the pilot area. The pilot area also serves as a useful device for observing the process by which the proposed renewal plans might be translated into actuality. These eight blocks selected are representative of conditions in the entire twenty-block area. Seven of the blocks lie between Amsterdam and Columbus Avenues from 90th to 97th Streets and the eighth between Columbus Avenue and Central Park West from 96th to 97th Street.

It has been assumed that the renewal of this pilot area will extend over a ten-year period. The renewal process is conceived as taking place in four stages, each lasting about two-and-a-half years. The first two stages of Plans A and B are described in some detail. All improvements are identified not only by type of structure and location but also, in the case of new apartments, by indicating whether they are to be low-rent public housing, quasi-private middle income housing, or private rental housing. Since it is difficult to foresee step-by-step renewal activity in the second five year period, the new housing in Stage III is shown without reference to type of financing or ownership. Stage IV serves as a schematic illustration of the cumulative results of renewal for the entire pilot area as well as for the remaining twelve blocks in which, it has been assumed, renewal was being carried out simultaneously.

REHABILITATION

Renewal Techniques

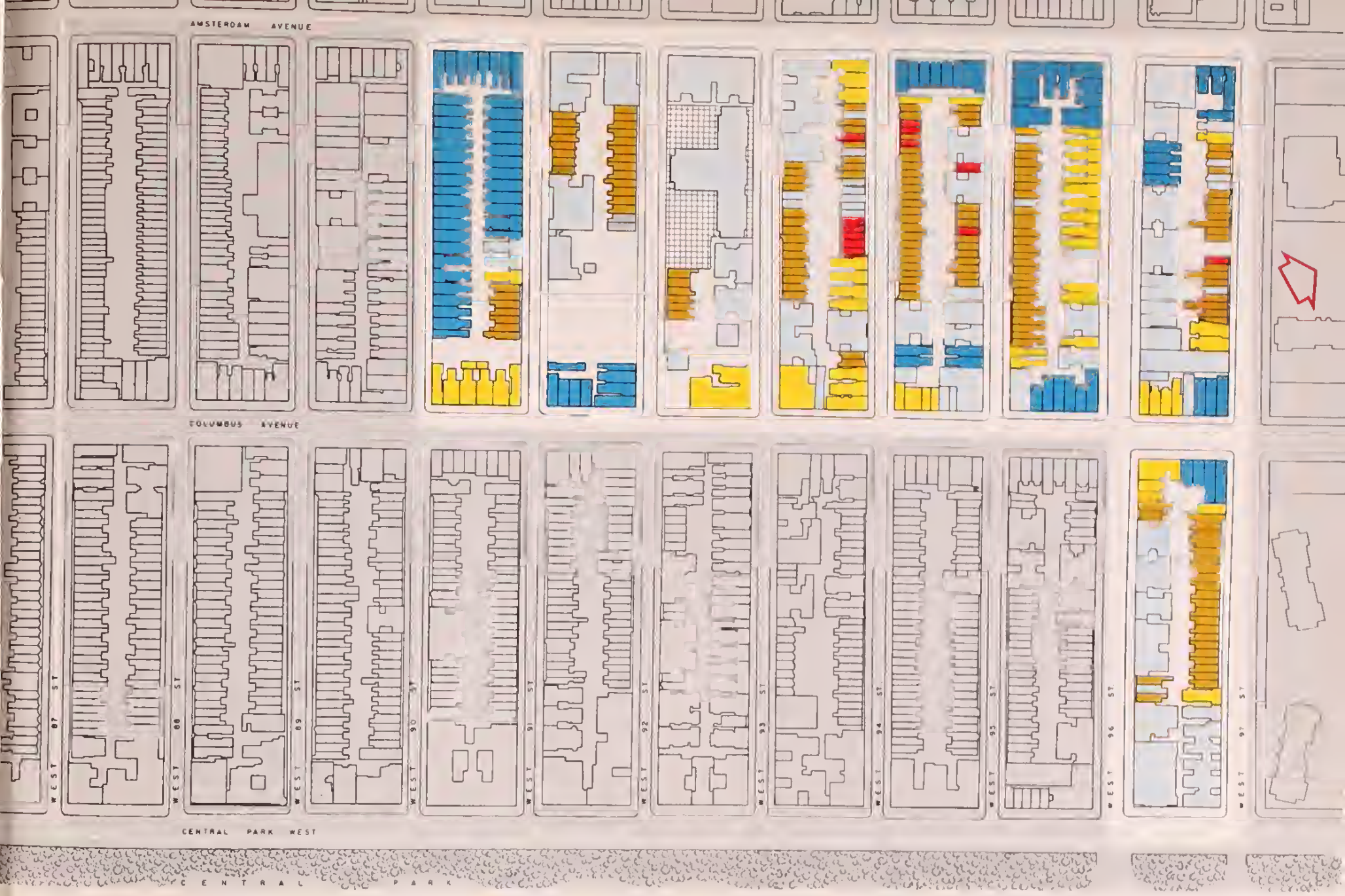
The application by New York City to the Urban Renewal Administration for the grant under which this renewal study was made calls for the development of techniques aimed at the "renovation of existing buildings worth saving." To meet this requirement the following steps were taken, with extensive assistance from experienced architects and real estate analysts: *a*) an evaluation of existing structures; *b*) an estimation of the costs of various types of rehabilitation; *c*) an appraisal of the economic feasibility of rehabilitation, measuring outlays (including mortgage costs) against prospective returns; *d*) an evaluation of the place of rehabilitated structures in the over-all design.

Suitability of Existing Structures for Rehabilitation

To determine the suitability of each individual structure for rehabilitation the real estate inventory of the pilot area was completely surveyed. Suitability was judged primarily by two factors: structural soundness and obsolescence, the latter measured by such elements as building depth, land coverage, room layout and access to light and air.

The resulting classification is based on a detailed field inspection by four teams of two men each, one of whom was from the architectural consultant's office and one from the City Department of Buildings. Each team examined the buildings assigned to it from cellar to roof, and the findings were recorded on individual inventory sheets. Doubtful cases received further staff review so that the final classification is a matter of judgment, not merely the operation of a mechanical formula.

The evaluation indicates that 87 per cent of the brownstones warranted exploration of rehabilitation, while another seven per cent were in an acceptable condition. On the other hand, only 34 per cent of the old-law tenements in the pilot area could be considered for rehabilita-



Physical Evaluation of Existing Buildings

- Old-Law Tenement, Rehabilitation Indicated
- Old-Law Tenement, Demolition Indicated
- Building in Acceptable Condition
- Brownstone, Rehabilitation Indicated
- Brownstone, Demolition Indicated

tion, with but an additional six per cent in an acceptable condition.

In certain cases, structurally sound buildings in locations which might bring high enough rents to warrant extensive remodeling were marked for demolition because their sites could be put to better use, for example one of four adjacent old-law tenements on the north side of 96th Street near Amsterdam Avenue. The other three buildings were borderline cases in respect to structural soundness. All were poorly maintained and were built on the same obsolete plan as the majority of the old-law tenements in the Study Area. In addition, all four were located between two modern elevator buildings on a major thoroughfare, on a site which would be desirable for high-rental development once a renewal program gets under way, thereby strengthening the case for marking all four for demolition. (See Page 80 for one way in which this site might be redeveloped.)

Costs of Rehabilitation

Analysis of the feasibility of rehabilitation in the Study Area concerned itself mainly with two types of structures: brownstone row houses and old-law tenements. (As a matter of policy, the elevator buildings were permitted to stand without significant alteration.) Can such structures be remodeled into attractive and satisfactory living quarters in terms of acceptable standards of space, light, air? Would such remodeling be less expensive than demolition of existing buildings and their replacement with new structures?

The procedure followed in the analysis of both brownstones and old-law tenements was to select for intensive study buildings with typical layouts and in good structural condition. The study consisted of preparing working drawings and specifications for three successively higher grades of rehabilitation: the lowest grade involving a minimum of structural changes; an intermediate grade requiring some structural changes; and a high grade involving extensive interior and exterior remodeling. All plans and specifications conform to the requirements of the New York City Building and Multiple Dwelling Codes and the State Multiple Dwelling Law.

From the working drawings an experienced estimator prepared detailed cost estimates based on current prices in the area. These estimates, which were checked with independent contractors familiar with the kind of work required, closely approximate actual bid prices. All estimates were based on current union wage rates and current prices for material and equipment.

There was no attempt to make design studies of how various building types could be satisfactorily adapted to rooming house use. (On May 14, 1954, a moratorium was placed on the creation of additional "Class B Multiple Dwelling Rooming Houses" in New York City.) Rooming houses essentially represent a way of subdividing a large private house or apartment, with the installation of fire protection devices but without major alterations, and renting to a number of individuals or two-person families. The problems connected with this class of buildings are not primarily a matter of design but of appropriate regulations and their enforcement.

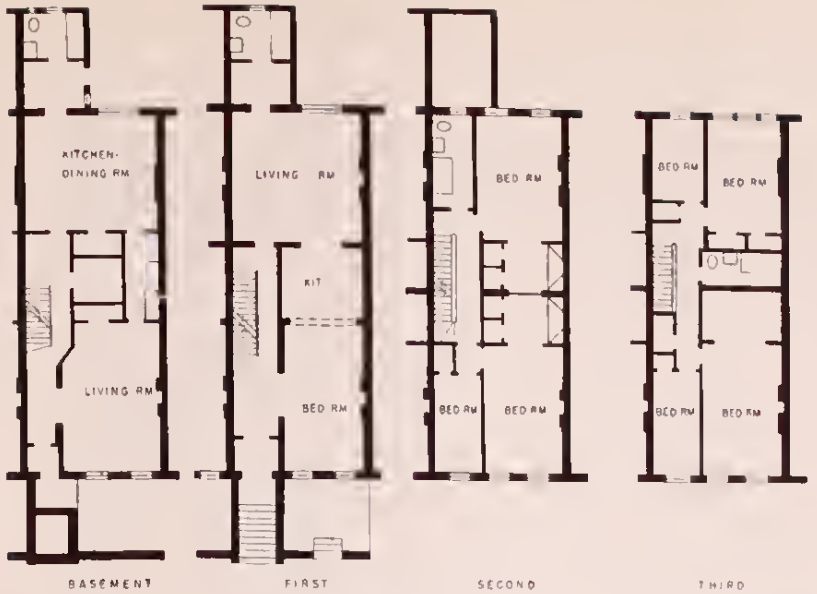
BROWNSTONE REHABILITATION

To test the feasibility of rehabilitating brownstones, two adjoining structures on 92nd Street, generally typical of other brownstones in the Study Area, were selected for intensive study. The use of a pair of adjoining buildings permitted the analysis of possible advantages which might result from a common staircase. Combinations of three or four buildings with one common staircase were abandoned because the alterations necessary to meet the requirements of the New York City Building Code and the State Multiple Dwelling Law proved too difficult and expensive. Floor plans of the existing buildings, and plans of the three grades of remodeling (minimum, intermediate and extensive) are presented, together with summaries of the costs and rents involved under the various financing alternatives. All three grades showed the best results by having two small apartments per floor, particularly above the garden and first floor levels, rather than single floor-through apartments. The additional rent more than justifies the cost of extra bathrooms and kitchens.

Minimum Rehabilitation

In this scheme, every effort was made to avoid structural changes and moving of partitions. The old stoop and cornice remain; electric and heating facilities are to be augmented rather than replaced; plaster and floors are to be patched. However, in regard to plumbing, it was found that it would be cheaper to rough-in pipes, back to back, in a central location, rather than to replace old lines in isolated spots — a factor which also improved the room layouts.

The results of these alterations are eight apartments per building,



Brownstones Before Rehabilitation

Typical brownstone facade

each with bath and kitchenette mechanically ventilated by ducts in a shaft rising from the basement up through the roof. Five of the apartments have separate small bedrooms; three have only one room. The apartments shown are entered from the street, but a building entrance from the rear could be included without appreciably raising the required rents.

The cost of this form of alteration, excluding acquisition costs, is estimated at approximately $30,000 for each building, which is about $3,750 per dwelling unit, or $1,875 per rental room. (In these rehabilitated structures, a living room or bed room is considered as one rental room; kitchen facilities in an alcove or foyer are considered a half-rental-room.) Including the cost of acquisition, dwelling unit and room costs are $6,750 and $3,375, respectively.

Intermediate Rehabilitation

Intermediate rehabilitation involves removal of the stoop and resurfacing of the front facade; shifting of some of the interior partitions; improving items of finish such as tile in bathrooms; laying new floors and extensive new plaster; and installing completely new wiring, a new oil burner and other elements. The floor plan is quite similar to the minimum grade, with two dwelling units per floor, except that a 3½-rental-room apartment is provided on the garden level.

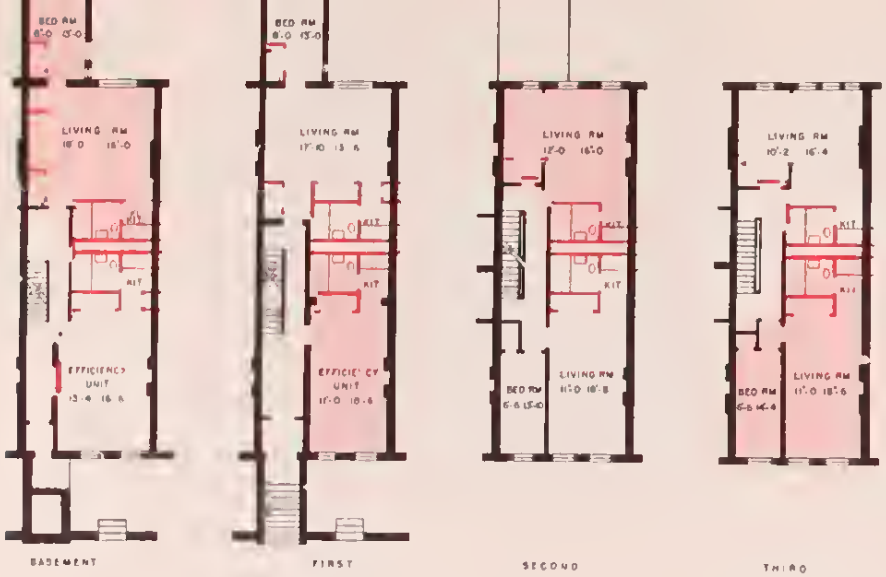
The estimated alteration costs are $48,300 for one building, which is about $6,900 per dwelling unit and $3,580 per rental room. Including acquisition costs the dwelling unit and room costs amount to about $10,330 and $5,360 respectively.

Extensive Rehabilitation

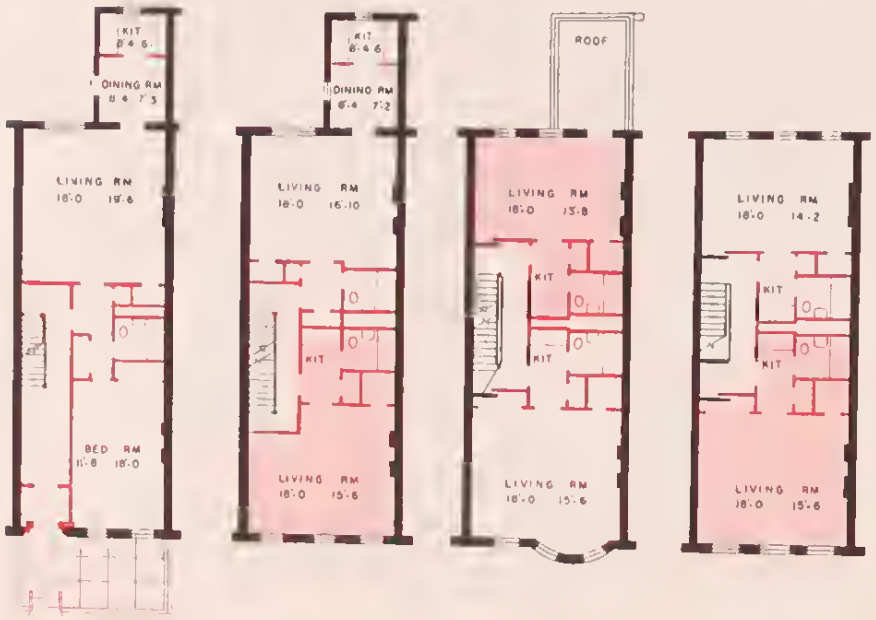
Extensive rehabilitation involves gutting the existing structure, removing all interior partitions and leaving only exterior walls and subflooring. The plans call for new plastered partitions, new ceiling plaster, finished flooring, heating, plumbing and electrical work, the removal of the stoop and cornice, and replacement of the old interior stairs.

Architectural studies were made of a single building and also of two adjoining buildings, with a new central staircase serving both structures. Alternate solutions for street and garden entrances are shown for the latter. In the plan for two buildings, a 3½-room apartment and two smaller apartments would be provided on the garden level, with four apartments on each of the other floors.

The estimated cost of rehabilitation for both buildings in the combined schemes, with front entrance, is $104,500 or $6,970 per dwelling unit and $3,800 per rental room. Including acquisition costs, dwelling



Minimum Rehabilitation Single Brownstone



Intermediate Rehabilitation Single Brownstone

unit and room costs are $10,170 and $5,500, respectively. No detailed cost estimates were made for the single buildings, since this scheme contains a luxury duplex on the two lower floors and would be built only under special conditions.

Desirability of Brownstone Rehabilitation

Whether or not any of the rehabilitation studies described above are advisable on a large scale depends on two considerations. The first is whether the rehabilitated building is satisfactory for living, that is, whether it has enough space, light and air. Is it attractive both within and without, in terms of outlook and appearance? Another consideration is whether the costs of alteration can be carried by prospective rents under available financing terms. In other words, will the returns to the builder, entrepreneur or owner-occupier be sufficient to induce him to undertake remodeling?

All of these rehabilitation proposals are judged to be acceptable with respect to the quality of the resultant living space. The brownstone as a building type was originally intended for single-family use and is, therefore, seldom over four or five stories high. The density per acre even after remodeling will be low as compared with a new multi-storied apartment building. Forty per cent of the lot is generally available for rear gardens, held individually or in common, which form one of the most desirable aspects of city living. The streets on which the buildings face are local streets, have less noise from traffic and can be made more attractive with trees. These low buildings along the side streets form a pleasing contrast to the proposed tall buildings along the avenues. Retaining the brownstones will result in a desirable combination of high and low structures. The sense of privacy in the smaller buildings and their more human scale are added attractions for many prospective tenants. It should also be noted that unless the brownstones are rehabilitated they will probably be replaced, for economic reasons, with tall apartment structures. While such replacement might result in lower ground coverage it would also mean a higher and undesirable over-all density. Thus the choice is not between new row houses of a better design and the proposed remodeling, but between some existing brownstones rehabilitated and mixed with high-rise buildings on the one hand, and an area completely covered with high-rise buildings on the other.

Is Brownstone Rehabilitation Economically Sound?

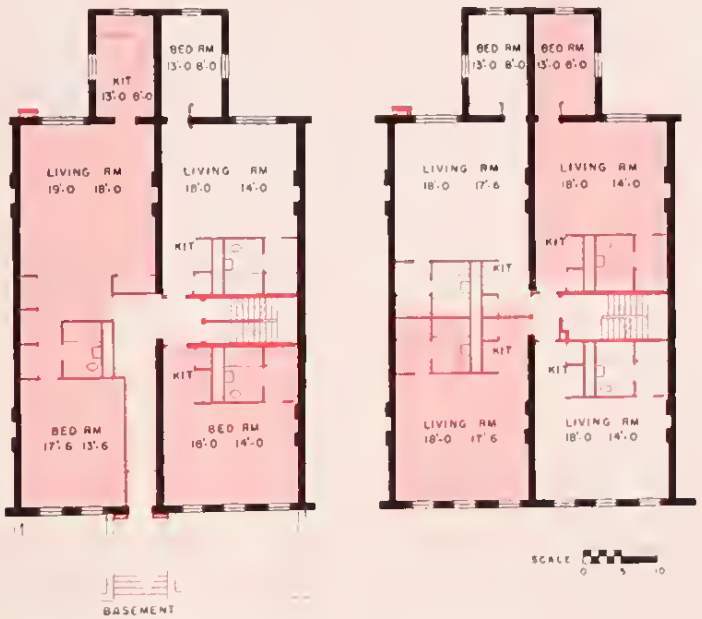
Given the capital costs of the various types of rehabilitation, the economic soundness of the proposed undertaking depends on whether prospective rental income will be sufficient to meet taxes, operating costs and debt service and provide the investor with an acceptable yield on invested equity funds.

According to a market analysis made by the real estate consultant, the maximum rents obtainable after rehabilitation would range from an average of $99 to $115 per unit, depending on the extent of rehabilitation. The estimated rents for each type of rehabilitation are based upon informed judgment as to what the remodeled apartments would command were renewal taking place in the vicinity of the rehabilitated buildings. These estimates are conservative and are based on the assumption that the bulk of demand will come not from high-income families but from middle-income single persons and childless couples who form an important segment of the market for small apartments in centrally located sections of the City.

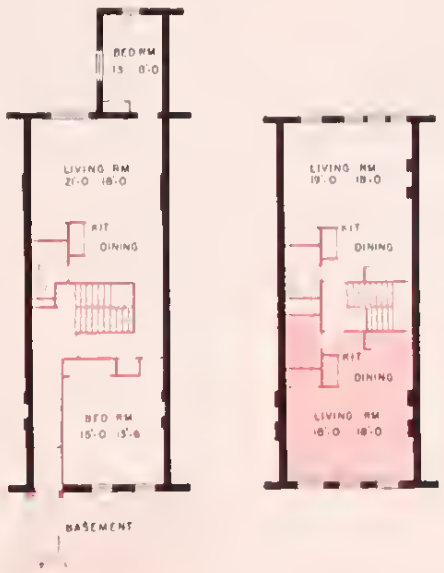
As the table shows, the expected free and clear return (that is, before allowance for debt service) will vary from just under five per cent to just under eight per cent. The minimum rehabilitation yields the highest prospective free and clear return, 7.8 per cent. Because the increase in costs is greater than the increase in rents, the free and clear returns for the other proposals are substantially lower, 4.9 per cent for intermediate rehabilitation and 6.2 per cent for extensive rehabilitation.

Barring a substantial write-down of capital costs, the private investor would not respond to the free and clear returns indicated if the only type of financing available were a conventional mortgage. Under conventional terms the best obtainable mortgage would require one-third equity and eight per cent per annum debt service. (Actually, higher terms are likely if a tight mortgage market prevails during the renewal period.) The required debt service on conventional terms is simply too high to yield the investor a satisfactory return on a one-third equity investment in any of the three types of rehabilitation.

Private investment could be stimulated, however, if an FHA-insured mortgage could be obtained under the terms provided for in Section 220 of the National Housing Act. Assuming that the FHA-appraised value



Extensive Rehabilitation of Two Adjacent Brownstones, Entrance from Street



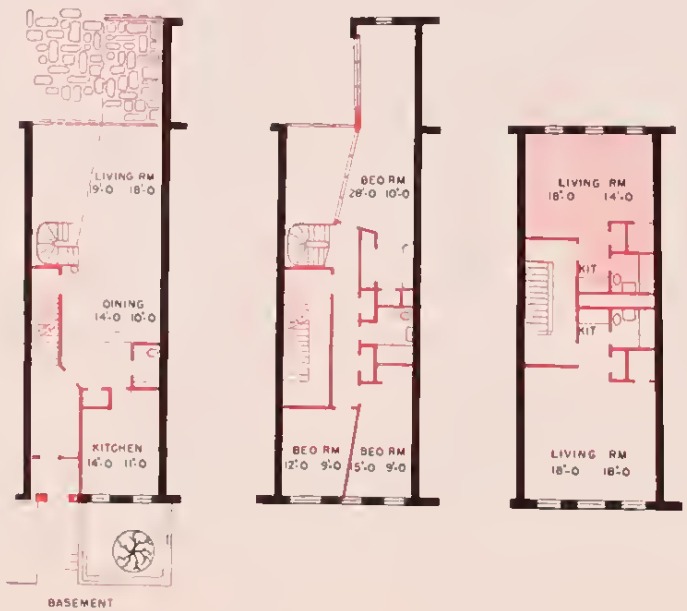
Extensive Brownstone Rehabilitation with Floor-Through Apartment

equals the full cost of rehabilitation (including acquisition), the private investor can obtain as much as 90 per cent debt capital for up to 30 years at five per cent interest plus one-half per cent for mortgage insurance, with an annual level payment $68 per $1,000 of mortgage (including insurance). An FHA-insured mortgage would reduce the investor's required equity by as much as two-thirds, and substantially reduce annual debt service. (However, the per room costs of intermediate and extensive rehabilitation are so high in relation to the maximum per room mortgage limits under Section 220 that the required equity is likely to be above ten per cent.) Even with an FHA mortgage, only the minimum rehabilitation proposal would appear to qualify; intermediate and extensive rehabilitation of brownstones remain uneconomic except in instances where a higher-than-average rent can be obtained or where the rehabilitation is undertaken for an owner-occupant who regards the venture as a personal rather than as a business investment.

An alternative for inducing private rehabilitation with the use of conventional financing would involve a write-down in acquisition costs, the burden to be shared by Federal and local government. The write-down required, however, would be substantial, amounting to over half the full acquisition cost of the brownstone in the minimum rehabilitation scheme. Even a full write-down would not make the intermediate and extensive rehabilitation schemes economic unless Section 220 financing were simultaneously obtained. Furthermore, the cost per unit of the more elaborate rehabilitation schemes so closely approximates the costs of new construction, that the soundness of such undertakings, particularly when the better mortgage terms available for new construction are considered, is questionable.

Since one of the objectives of a renewal program in the Study Area is to minimize the amount of write-down, the conclusion is inevitable: private rehabilitation on a large scale is dependent on liberal mortgage terms of a type which can be provided by the FHA 220 program. (Still another possibility, of course, is to grant real estate tax concessions. Under present state laws such tax concessions are available only to regulated corporations with limitations on rents and profits. This kind of aid was reserved in the study plans for the new middle-income projects scheduled for the Area.)

Extensive Rehabilitation of Two Adjacent Brownstones, Entrance from Gardens



ESTIMATED CAPITAL COSTS, OPERATING EXPENSES AND RETURNS
THREE TYPES OF BROWNSTONE REHABILITATION
(Pilot Area)

	Minimum (1 structure) 8 d. units or 16 Rms.	Intermediate (1 structure) 7 d. units or 13½ Rms.	Extensive (2 structures) 15 d. units or 27½ Rms.
Cost of land and old building	$ 24,000	$ 24,000	$ 48,000
Cost of alteration	30,000	48,300	104,500
Total cost	54,000	72,300	152,500
Total cost per dwelling unit	6,750	10,329	10,167
Total cost per room	3,375	5,356	5,545
Average monthly rent per dwelling unit	99.38	112.86	115.33
Range of monthly rent per dwelling unit	80 - 125	90 - 175	97.50 - 175
Annual gross rent	9,540	9,480	20,760
Annual operating expense	5,350	5,925	11,358
Net return — free and clear	4,190	3,555	9,402
Free and clear return as a per cent of cost	7.8%	4.9%	6.2%

Planned rehabilitation of brownstones can preserve Area's pleasing variety of high and low buildings. See page 59.

REHABILITATION of OLD-LAW TENEMENTS

A similar analysis was conducted to test the feasibility of rehabilitating old-law tenements. In contrast to the brownstone, which is essentially a Victorian variation on the Georgian town house, the five-story walk-up old-law tenement is not basically a good building type. Land coverage is excessive – in many cases 80 per cent of the lot. Many of its small rooms look into outer "courts" not more than four feet wide and over forty feet deep. Little air and almost no light and privacy are the rule. The street facades do not lend themselves to economical face-lifting. Nevertheless, most of these buildings are structurally sound.

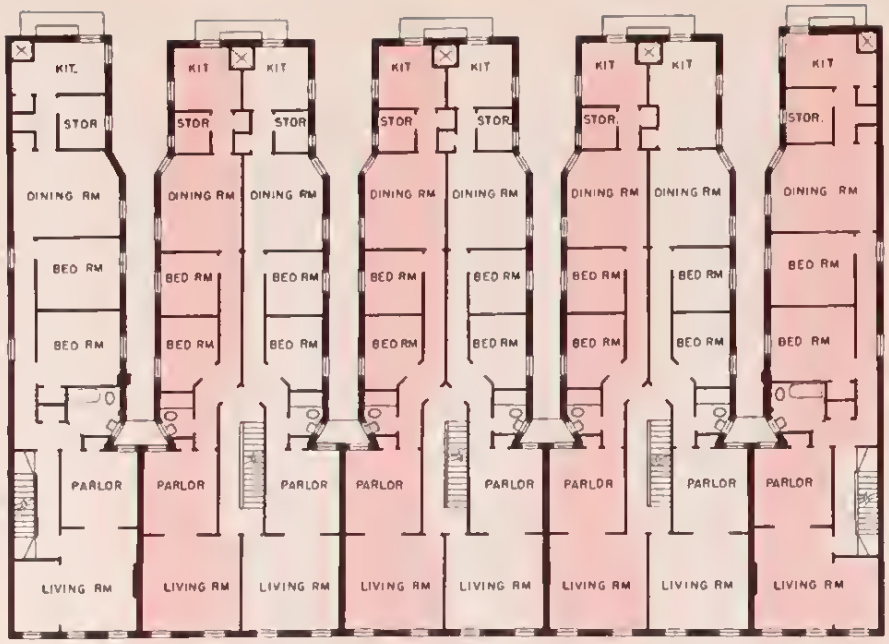
Five old-law tenements on 96th Street between Amsterdam and Columbus Avenues were selected for study as representative of the great majority of the old-law tenements in the Study Area and in New York City generally. The front of these tenements faces on a residentially developed thoroughfare; the rear overlooks a group of lower brownstone buildings, which permit some sun, light and air to penetrate the narrow air shafts. Five tenements were chosen because the layout of this type of building requires alteration in groups to achieve a satisfactory plan.

The same technique was used in analyzing this building type as in the case of the brownstones. Three degrees of rehabilitation – minimum, intermediate and extensive – were developed for these five buildings which are shown together with a plan of the existing structures.

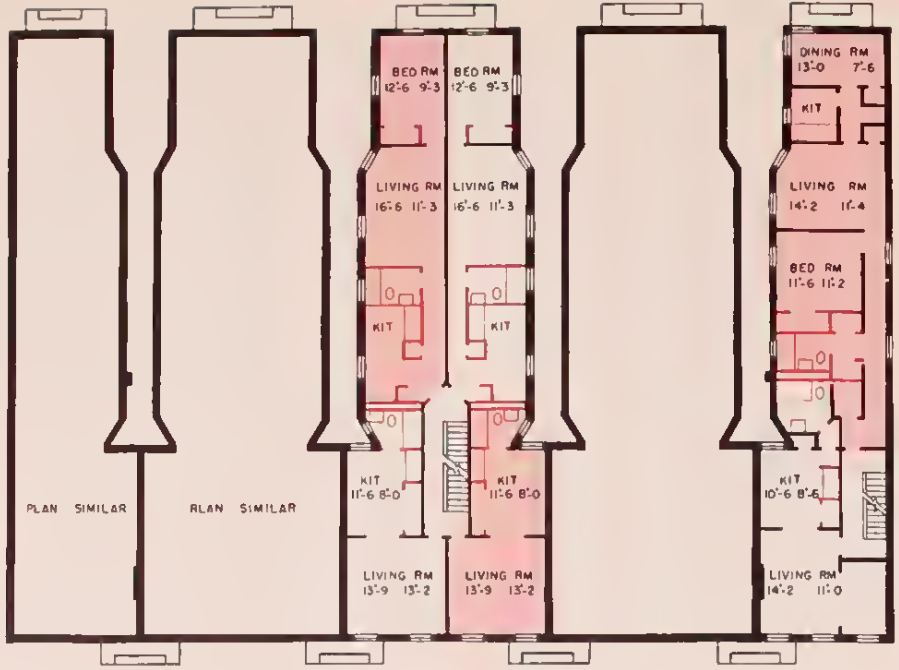
Minimum Rehabilitation

This scheme involves the use of existing space where possible, little change in partitions, and generally the type of finish proposed for the "minimum" brownstone alteration. As a floor-through six room apartment would require excessive rents for this type of walk-up structure, the minimum scheme provides for breaking up the existing six-room flats into two apartments, one facing the street, the other the rear yard and air shaft. The old staircase would be kept in its present location and no elevator or incinerator would be provided. The basic defects of deep narrow airshafts and small rooms would remain.

The cost of alteration of the five buildings estimated by the procedure



OLD-LAW TENEMENTS Before Rehabilitation



Minimum Rehabilitation

outlined previously, excluding acquisition costs, is about $289,000, or $3,610 per apartment, or $1,380 per room. Including acquisition costs, dwelling unit and room costs are $5,607 and $2,146 respectively.

Intermediate Rehabilitation

This scheme would eliminate the deep narrow airshafts by the partial demolition of the rear wings of alternate buildings to provide better light, air and outlook for all rear apartments. Here again the old staircase remains and there is no elevator. As may be seen in the floor plans, the apartment layouts have been improved and the specifications call for better renovation than proposed in the minimum scheme.

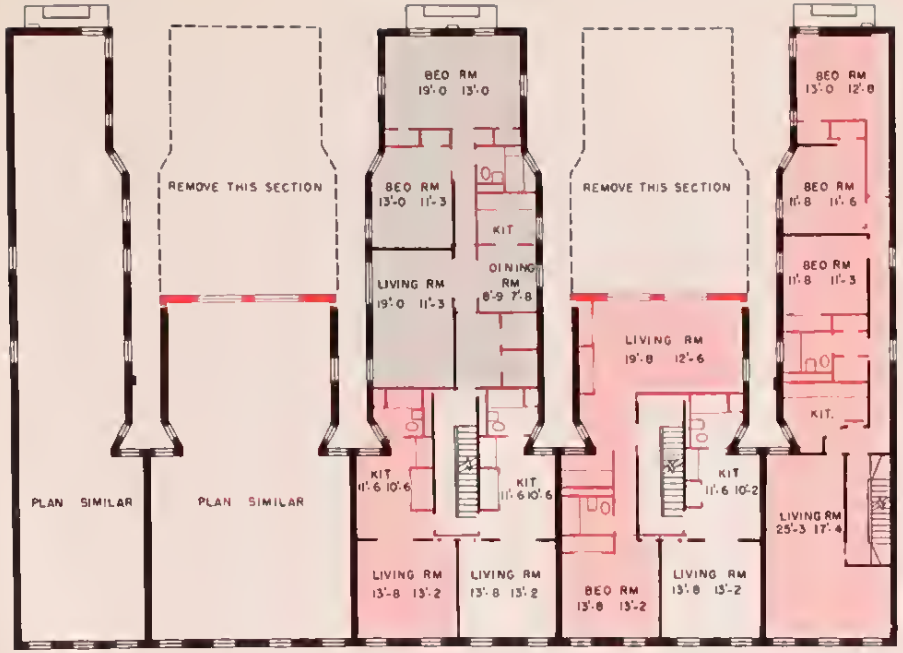
Rather than the "railroad" layout of the original tenement, which was kept in the minimum scheme, the intermediate plan makes a single apartment out of each rear wing. Thus where the rear apartment is not located in one of the end buildings, it has windows on three sides, opening onto generously proportioned courts. All rooms are good-sized and are entered from an internal hall and foyer. The large apartment between the rear wings has through ventilation with an equally good layout. Even the smallest apartments have through ventilation.

The cost of alteration for the five buildings is estimated at $276,400, less than the total in the minimal scheme. However, because this scheme results in fewer apartments, the cost per apartment rises to $6,430, or $1,890 per room. Including the acquisition cost of land and building, the total cost per room is $2,980, with a total apartment cost of $10,140.

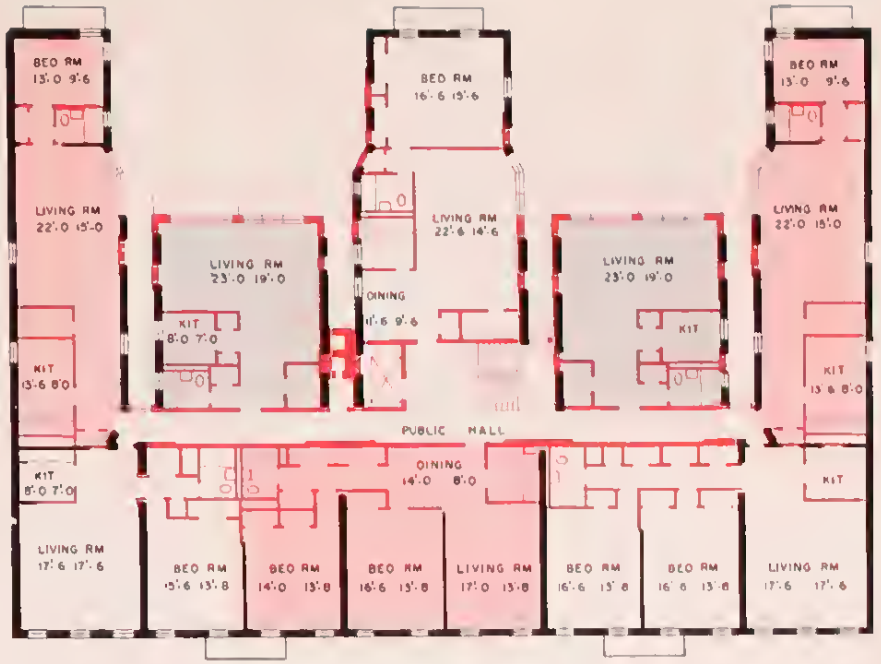
Extensive Rehabilitation

This scheme goes the whole way toward complete modernization. All five buildings are connected by a common complex of hall, stair, elevator and incinerator. Alternate wings would be demolished, most partitions would be new, and specifications would be similar to those used in the maximum brownstone rehabilitation scheme. As shown, the resulting apartments are quite satisfactory.

The cost of alteration is estimated at $444,600, $11,110 per dwelling, or $3,380 per room. Including acquisition, dwelling and room costs are over $15,100 and almost $4,600 respectively.



Intermediate Rehabilitation



Extensive Rehabilitation

Financial Feasibility of Old-Law Tenement Rehabilitation

The summary of the costs of the three grades of old-law tenement rehabilitation are shown in the table on page 54.

The rents were estimated on the same basis as in the brownstone rehabilitation — an informed judgment as to what the rehabilitated dwellings would bring if renewal were taking place in the vicinity of the building. The rental estimate is also conservative and ranges somewhat lower than for the brownstones because of the greater rentability of rehabilitated brownstones.

Financial analysis shows that rehabilitation of old-law tenements is economically impractical with conventional mortgage financing. While the free and clear return for the minimum scheme is somewhat higher than for brownstones, intermediate and extensive rehabilitation would produce unacceptable yields.

Again, as in the case of brownstones, private investment could undoubtedly be stimulated by providing Section 220 mortgage terms, capital write-down or a combination of both. Financial aspects aside, however, the wholesale rehabilitation of old-law tenements generally cannot be recommended. Too many of these structures suffer from built-in obsolescence, not easily remedied even by costly alteration. Consequently rehabilitation of old-law tenements in the Study Area must be highly selective, taking account of both their capacity to provide satisfactory housing over the long run and their compatibility with the over-all renewal design. The fact that at the end of 1956 there were still 396,000 dwellings in old-law tenements in New York City's housing supply, however, means that some use of the minimum rehabilitation scheme in the case of the better old-law tenements with larger courts may have to be considered.

The Process of Rehabilitation

Rehabilitation of individual buildings under the 1954 Housing Act must be carried out within the framework of a neighborhood or local area plan, such as those suggested for the Study Area in the following section.

The legal basis for renewal lies in Section 72-m of the General Municipal Law, enacted in 1957, which gives New York State cities the right of condemnation for renewal purposes. Under this act it is possible for the City to condemn buildings suitable for rehabilitation. Where an owner is willing to cooperate, it might be possible to exempt his property upon the signing of agreements assuring his compliance with the plan.

If condemned, the property could be sold at auction subject to an upset price approved by the Board of Estimate. Since the value of any single building depends upon adjoining buildings and those in the vicinity being remodeled harmoniously, the buildings would be sold subject to remodeling plans and agreements for holding and managing the common gardens. These covenants would be under the continued supervision of the Board of Estimate through its renewal agency.

Rehabilitators would be assisted in financing by the renewal agency, which might clear the plans in advance of bidding with the FHA. By working out an official renewal plan with the FHA, the agency would assure the bidder that he would not be tying up his capital or disrupting his production schedule as the result of possible delays or difficulties in securing FHA Section 220 mortgage insurance commitments. At the same time it would give him a firmer basis for estimating his return.

Since most small builders or investors are neither equipped to handle relocation nor wish to do so, the renewal agency would arrange for the relocation of existing tenants. In the case of buildings under rent control, the renewal agency could obtain the necessary clearance from the State Rent Administrator in advance of public auction.

The above steps are aimed at reducing the uncertainties of rehabilitation and should add greatly to the confidence of the small investor. Rehabilitation is traditionally a field for small builders, and the procedure outlined above is intended to make their participation possible without penalizing the large scale rehabilitator.

ESTIMATED CAPITAL COSTS, OPERATING EXPENSES AND RETURNS, THREE TYPES OF OLD-LAW TENEMENT REHABILITATION
(Pilot Area)

	Minimum 80 d. units or 209 Rms.	Intermediate 43 d. units or 146½ Rms.	Extensive 40 d. units or 131½ Rms.
Cost of land and old building	$159,600	$159,600	$159,600
Cost of alteration	289,000	276,400	444,600
Total cost	448,600	436,000	604,200
Total cost per dwelling unit	5,607	10,140	15,105
Total cost per room	2,146	2,976	4,595
Average monthly rent per dwelling unit	86.37	112.67	150.00
Range of monthly rent per dwelling unit	72.50 - 105.00	87.50 - 145.00	115.00 - 185.00
Annual gross rent	82,920	58,140	72,000
Annual operating expense	39,362	35,018	42,396
Net return — free and clear	43,558	23,122	29,604
Free and clear return as a per cent of cost	9.7%	5.3%	4.9%

Neighborhood renewal planning could provide convenient mid-block public walks with pleasant sitting areas.

DESIGN OF THE AREA

Underlying Concepts

The alternative renewal plans for the pilot area (Plan A and Plan B) and their extension to the twenty blocks must not only take into account the social and economic objectives previously discussed but existing physical conditions as well. Thus both plans assume that the north-south avenues will remain as through traffic streets. Both plans are also based on the existing gridiron street pattern and do not necessarily involve street closings. Furthermore, because of existing limitations, off-street parking can be provided for only a portion of the families who will live in the renewal area.

Another working assumption is that every residential area needs accessibility to large parks, school playgrounds and all public open spaces within the neighborhood. With Central Park at most two blocks (1,800 feet) from any house in the Study Area, neither playing fields for adolescents and young adults nor the open vistas, glades and trees of a great park are far away. Considering Central Park, the open-space ratio of the Area compares favorably with that of most other urban areas. However, the Study Area lacks both adequate school playgrounds and the frequent small public open spaces particularly needed in high-density areas for young children, mothers, the aged, and adults in general. The two plans presented attempt to meet this deficiency by opening up the area with public and private open spaces which would also relieve the block-long vistas of masonry.

In addition to the available open area represented by Central Park and the small open spaces proposed for each block, the public schools should have adjacent playgrounds. Provision is therefore made in both renewal plans for a new elementary school and playground and for a second playground to serve P.S. 166 (at 132 West 89th Street), an existing elementary school within the Study Area. Possibilities of expanding the site of the junior high school in the Area also are shown.

Since previous analysis indicated the soundness of selective rehabilitation, this type of improvement is featured in both plans, but receives greater emphasis in Plan B. The proposed combination of low walk-up buildings with high-rise elevator structures makes possible a more attractive neighborhood and better living in that a greater variety of living quarters can be offered than in a development with either all low or all high buildings.

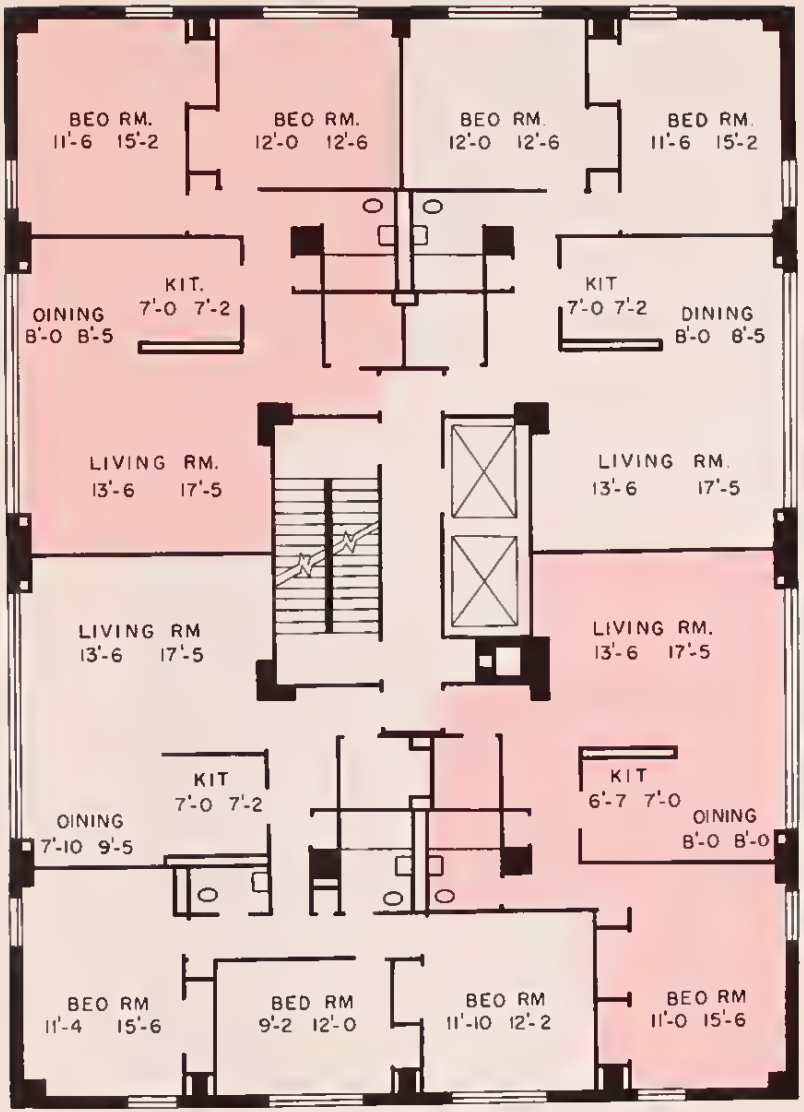
In both plans the blocks have been divided into design or construction units, plots suitable for the construction of a group of buildings or logical units of rehabilitation. In the case of the proposed new structures, most of the design units are ends of blocks so that the open area of the street would bound the building plot on three sides, while the fourth side would be bounded, in most cases, by lower rehabilitated structures or public open spaces. In a smaller proportion of the plots, the boundary would be logically formed by an existing modern building. In a few cases the plot would be assembled from lots left over from the haphazard, competitive development of the nineteen-twenties. The result would be a series of related building plots which could be assembled by a public renewal agency and made available to a developer.

The elevator buildings suggested for the avenue ends of the blocks have stores on the ground floors which extend to the property lines on the three street sides. The roofs of these stores could be used for yard space serving the residential floors of the buildings – space more private and convenient than could be provided at street level.

The proposed buildings are of two types: conventional slab structures with apartments on both sides of a central corridor, and tower buildings with four or six apartments on each floor. The latter, while a comparatively new form to New York City, has been found in both cooperative and public housing here to have proved its livability and economy. Tower apartments are extensively found in Sweden, where they originated, as well as elsewhere in Western Europe. In the typical floor shown on page 57, each dwelling unit is a full corner apartment and therefore has cross-ventilation; in addition, when buildings are located as they are in the two schemes for the pilot area, every room has an open outlook. Since each floor has only four apartments, each family is given a maximum of privacy. There are no long halls as in the conventional New York apartment building.

These building types are only suggestive. Actually, the designs of new structures will be determined jointly by the sponsor and his architects and the public renewal agency, which would see that the specific designs were in conformity and in harmony with a plan for the renewal area.

In the case of rehabilitation, individual structures have been divided into groups, with each group fitted into an over-all design which bears a satisfactory architectural relationship to public open spaces and



Typical Floor of Tower Apartment Building

elevator structures. Each of the buildings in a group is planned to be compatible with neighboring structures.

Plans A and B are presented in a progression of four stages nf approximately 30 months each. For many reasons, it would be useful to begin the renewal prncess with limited profit housing assisted by public financing (i.e., private housing financed nnder the Limited-Profit Housing Companies Law), and public housing constructed by the New York City Housing Authority. Sites particularly attractive at present by virtue of location or relation to permanent public open spaces could be offered for private development at an early stage. Sites which would become attractive as a result of nearby improvements could be offered at a later stage.

Actual designation of housing sites for high, middle or lnw-income development, as well as quantitative data on relocation, new dwellings made available, and density, are limited to the first two stages, since it is unrealistic to fix site uses more than five years in advance. (See Appendix for detailed statistics on Stages I and II of both schemes.) As the renewal program moves along in this area, or any other area, the plans should be subject to constant review hy the official directing agency. It may be that the designations suggested in the first two stages will have to be changed in actual negotiations with specific sponsors who may have different ideas as to which is the best site. Stages III and IV, therefore, merely indicate new housing construction, not whether it should be public or private housing.

In Stages I and II of both renewal plans, housing for various income groups — public, co-operative, and private rental — has been located so as to result in improved tax returns to the City and to avoid an excessive amount of public financial assistance. This has been accnmplished by considering practical real estate concepts in siting new buildings.

Sites are usually considered more valuable by investors if the proposed buildings can take advantage of permanent open spaces owned by the public or someone other than the owner of the site in question. If the site is on a fashionable avenue rather than on a side street in the center of a block, the owner has the advantage of three street frontages and is sometimes able to capitalize on the development of commercial space at the street level. Avenue frontages are considered even more valuable, viz., Park Avenue, if the avenue is being developed as a

design unit. The proximity of other high-quality buildings is an added inducement for investors in this form of real estate.

Public housing is sited in the center of the blocks rather than on the more valuable avenue frontages. The frontage still available on 96th Street, an important thoroughfare already largely developed with high-quality elevator buildings, would be rebuilt in Plan A with similar buildings. The avenue frontages closer to existing high-rental structures could be offered for ordinary private developments in an early stage; others would not be offered for sale until adjacent sites have been made more desirable by redevelopment with new middle-income cooperatives.

Both plans have been worked out with a minimum of street changes and innovations. This does not mean that some street changes would not be useful or that new designs have no place in renewal. Additional ideas worth considering are presented in alternate versions of the final concept of both schemes. Here are indicated the street closings based on the traffic data presented earlier in this report; here is the clear system of small public open spaces, one in each block, forming connected green walkways throughout the whole Study Area. The alternate Stage IV plates show the practical use which could be made of the air rights over the avenues. Each idea presented is financially and structurally feasible and practical. Few, if any, have not already been successfully tried in New York City. Supplementing the alternate plans are perspective drawings illustrating some of these ideas.

Group rehabilitation of brownstones would permit merging rear yards into spacious landscaped garden-courts.

A

The central design feature of Plan A is the redevelopment of Columbus Avenue, with modern elevator apartment buildings replacing the obsolete old-law tenements. The cover of this report shows an air view of Plan A as it would appear when completed. The varying heights and bulk of the tall structures which are planned have been carefully proportioned to both existing elevator buildings and other new buildings to be located in the center of the blocks and along Amsterdam Avenue. The contrast in height between all the elevator structures and the rehabilitated brownstones has been utilized to give further variety and interest to the over-all design, as illustrated on page 51.

The present long, nearly 800-foot facades containing the brownstone rows fronting on the side streets have been broken up with small public open areas which would provide attractive sitting spaces and better inter-block communication. These small public gardens can be located in every block and thereby provide walkways which are independent of the heavy avenue traffic.

The public open area in each block is supplemented by private open space between the rear walls of the buildings which front on the east-west streets. Visually, the open space flows from the small public areas to the private gardens behind the brownstone rows. These gardens need not be made accessible to all; they might be jointly held by the owners of the adjoining buildings, with access limited to tenants of the block or to the occupants of designated buildings or institutions. The essential point is that the inside of the rehabilitated brownstone blocks would be open visually to the windows overlooking this green area, as well as to those in the public spaces. Opening up the rear yards in combination with street trees would give the Study Area an effect of greenness and cut down the oppressive feeling given by the present long walls of unrelieved masonry.

Stage I

The first stage gives an example of how the renewal process might be started, through providing more effective public facilities in the form of a new school and public open spaces, rehabilitation, and new construction for all income groups.

Public Facilities

Because small public open spaces are totally lacking in the Study Area, a cross-block walkthrough between West 95th and West 96th Streets, utilizing vacant property on 96th Street, is given top priority. Another small open area proposed in this stage extends the pedestrian way across the next block to the south. Adjoined, the two open areas become more useful and visually impressive.

Adjacent to this proposed public open area is a religious institution and its associated school, serving children four to seven years old who would have access to the public open space. The school itself is isolated to some extent from the rehabilitated brownstones by the public garden.

The site for the necessary new elementary school between West 91st and 92nd Streets was suggested for several reasons. First, it is one of the few sites where an adequate school playground could be provided without demolishing modern elevator apartment structures. It was felt that a site should be found east of Columbus Avenue to avoid concentrating all the schools between Amsterdam and Columbus Avenue. The school site would replace 45 buildings, of which 34 are rooming houses or tenements with single-room occupancy. The block itself has some of the worst housing and health conditions in the Study Area.

If the new school is to be placed between Amsterdam and Columbus Avenues, the fact that an existing elementary school is located in this tier of blocks, between West 88th and West 89th Streets, makes a location north of the junior high school advisable. The only site available without demolition of expensive structures, or using a West 96th Street frontage, is just across the street from the junior high school on West 93rd Street. This is a less desirable location than the one shown in Plan A, but it nevertheless is offered as an alternate site in Plan B.

Rehabilitation of brownstones during Stage I could begin in the two blocks between West 93rd and West 95th Streets. These blocks contain brownstones worth remodeling on both of the side streets and therefore lend themselves to a fairly large-scale operation. In the block be-

tween West 94th and West 95th Streets the private common garden suggested between the building rows connects with the public open space proposed in this stage. The early completion of this section of the block, a complete design unit in itself, would furnish the Study Area an example of what can be done in rehabilitating brownstones and thereby help to stimulate enthusiasm for subsequent stages in the program.

Rehabilitation activity would be extended westward to the existing tall structures on West 95th Street and to the brownstones in poor condition on West 94th Street; and extended eastward up to the proposed public open space on West 95th Street and an existing elevator structure on West 94th Street.

New Private Rental Housing

Two sites for private rental housing are included in Stage I. One is opposite the open space between the buildings of the West Park Title I development on West 97th Street, in the center of the block between Columbus and Amsterdam Avenue. The other site is on Columbus Avenue between West 92nd and West 93rd Streets. Housing on this site would share with existing modern elevator apartments the benefit of an outlook over the permanent open space provided by Croton Aqueduct property and the proposed public and private playgrounds serving the junior high school and Trinity School.

Rentals for the 251 apartments on these two sites would range from $45 to $60 per room per month. (A breakdown of land costs for typical private rental apartment buildings which might be built in the pilot area is found in the Appendix, page 90 .) The new structures would replace 20 brownstones, one old-law tenement building and three small commercial structures.

Middle-Income Housing

In Stage I, 140 to 150 co-operative apartments would be built on the west side of Columbus Avenue between West 94th and West 95th Streets. This frontage was selected primarily because it is now largely occupied by one-story commercial buildings. Only 64 living quarters would have to be demolished in eight old-law tenement structures. These co-operative apartments could be financed under New York State's Limited Profit Housing Companies Act (Mitchell-Lama Act) which permits the City to make direct, long-term, low-interest loans to housing projects whose rents and profits are publicly regulated, and authorizes partial tax exemption. Rents to tenant-owners would be $21 to $22 per room per month using presently available financial aids without write-downs. A complete financial analysis of construction costs, operating expenses and rents for this co-operative is given in the Appendix. Middle-income co-operative or rental housing could also be developed under other State legislation such as the Housing Law of 1926 or the Redevelopment Companies Law. Tax concession and the use of eminent domain are the principal benefits under these laws.

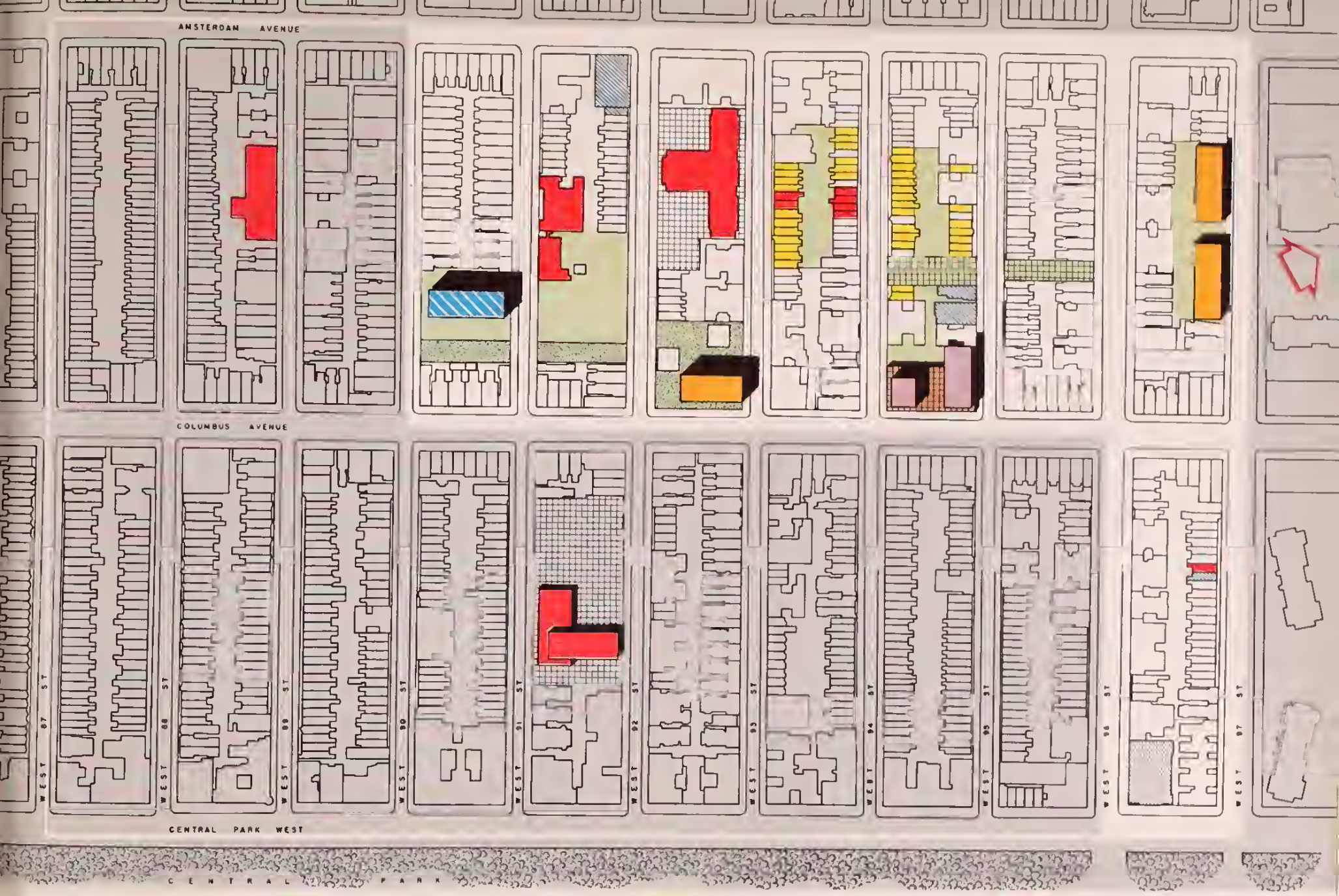
Public Housing

To achieve economic integration during renewal, the low-income public housing program would begin in Stage I with the erection of a multi-story structure containing 237 apartments on a site located on the easterly part of the block bounded by Amsterdam and Columbus Avenues, West 90th and West 91st Streets. The block now is almost solidly built over with old-law tenements considered ripe for demolition. The entire block has the worst housing and health conditions in the Study Area and its central portion is not well suited as a site for new private housing.

If the New York City Housing Authority follows its customary practice, it is likely that the entire central portion of the block designated for low-rent housing (see Plan A, Stage II) will be purchased at the outset. Demolition of existing structures acquired for the yards of the new buildings can be delayed in order to provide more time for relocation and thus ease somewhat this always difficult problem.

Seven old-law tenements and seven brownstones containing 768 persons must be demolished in Stage I. Some 900 persons will occupy the new structure. Average rentals could be about $14 per room per month.

The seven brownstones which would be demolished for the first public housing building could be rehabilitated. However, there are only seven, almost entirely surrounded by buildings not worth modernizing, and in order to use the large plot efficiently the seven brownstones would have to be removed.



Plan A
Stage I

- Rehabilitation
- New Private Housing
- New Middle Income Housing
- New Public Housing
- Building Yards
- Public Walks
- Aqueduct Property
- Religious Buildings
- Schools
- School Playgrounds
- Commercial, Ground Floor

Changes in the Housing Inventory and Population

The completion of Stage I would produce from 954 to 995 dwelling units in new and rehabilitated structures, as against 870 living quarters — a gain of 84 to 125 living quarters, and therefore some increase in density. (See Appendix, page 94, for Population Analysis, Plan A.)

PLAN A
ESTIMATED POPULATION CHANGES, STAGE I

NUMBER OF PERSONS RELOCATED TO MAKE WAY FOR:		
New construction		1,325
Rehabilitation		717
Public open areas		167
	TOTAL	**2,209**
POPULATION CAPACITY AFTER RENEWAL:		
New structures		2,164 to 2,287
Rehabilitated structures		513
	TOTAL	**2,677 to 2,800**
POPULATION INCREASE		**468 to 591**

Costs and Taxes

The relative cost of rehabilitation as contrasted with the cost of new construction and public open space in Stage I can best be seen in the following table.

ESTIMATED COST OF RENEWAL, STAGE I
(Pilot Area)

Private rental housing	$4,948,300	
Middle-income housing	3,099,620	
Public housing	3,319,760	
TOTAL NEW RESIDENTIAL CONSTRUCTION (Includes land, buildings and demolition)		**$11,367,680**
RESIDENTIAL REHABILITATION (Assuming minimum rehabilitation)		**2,025,600**
PUBLIC OPEN SPACES (Includes land, building, demolition, landscaping and site work)		**344,700**
TOTAL COST OF WORK IN STAGE I		**$13,737,980**

(Relocation costs are included in acquisition and construction estimates)

The major part of the cost of the public open spaces could be financed under the urban renewal program in which the Federal Government assumes two-thirds of the cost and the City one-third.

The estimated tax return on all new construction and rehabilitation completed in Stage I is approximately $306,200, three times existing revenues from the affected sites and about 25 per cent more than the present revenues from the entire pilot area. (See Appendix for formulas and definitions, page 90. Also financial analyses, Plan A, page 92.) It is assumed that the private new and rehabilitated structures would pay full taxes, middle-income co-operatives will pay 60 per cent of full taxes and public housing will pay the equivalent of full taxes on the present value of land and buildings. The pedestrian walks would be public property and would, of course, be removed from the tax roll.

Stage II

Stage II, like Stage I, would commence with work on public facilities. The opening of the small public open space between 93rd and 94th Streets would complete the walkway leading from the crosstown thoroughfare of West 96th Street to the junior high school on 93rd Street. This public area will advance the rehabilitation begun in this block during Stage I by opening the rear yards to public view as was done in the block to the north.

Public School 166 located between 88th and 89th Streets, Amsterdam and Columbus Avenues, which was modernized in 1952 at a cost of about $500,000, would be further improved by the addition of a small playground. A site for this playground would be obtained by demolishing the brownstones facing West 88th Street to the rear of the school on the south side of the same block.

Some of the private and parochial schools in the Study Area may also need additional playground facilities. Because these institutions in the Area have not had an opportunity to study all the implications of urban renewal and its impact on their programs, the possible space acquisitions of private or parochial schools are not shown on any of the maps in this report.

Private Rental Housing

The new private housing suggested for Stage II is concentrated along 97th Street at the corners of Amsterdam and Columbus Avenues, made

Columbus Avenue air rights might be used for overpass and terrace, with parking on lower deck. See page 72

more desirable by the open areas of the Park West Title I development to the north. One building might be placed on the corner of West 97th Street and Amsterdam Avenue, another on the ends of the two blocks flanking Columbus Avenue between 96th and 97th Streets. These sites are in effect a continuation of the Park West project. Their value would be further enhanced by the new and rehabilitated housing provided during Stage I.

The new structures in Stage II would replace two brownstones, 23 old-law tenements and two non-residential buildings. The apartment developments on the Avenues would probably have retail and other commercial uses on the street level.

Middle-Income Housing

The middle-income housing started in Stage I along the west side of Columbus Avenue, would be supplemented by the development of two additional sites. One, bounded by West 93rd and 94th Streets, lies between the initial middle-income building and one of the higher-rental buildings erected in Stage I. The other middle-income site is on the Columbus Avenue end of the block between 91st and 92nd Streets. This site is bounded on the west by the permanent open land of Croton Aqueduct and overlooks the playing fields of Trinity School.

Two brownstones and 13 old-law tenements and one non-residential structure would be demolished in Stage II to provide the sites for the middle-income buildings. These structures would complete most of the redevelopment of the west side of Columbus Avenue. In an official renewal plan, the east side of this avenue would also have been developed as suggested in Stage IV. The development of both sides of this avenue at the same time is essential because the entire avenue, not merely one side, is the unit of design.

Public Housing

A second multi-story public housing structure would be erected in Stage II to accommodate about 900 persons in 240 dwelling units on a site lying to the west of the first structure. To minimize the relocation problem, only 10 old-law tenements and one non-residential structure accommodating 566 persons need be demolished for this building.

Change in the Housing Inventory

The work scheduled in Stage II would result in the provision of 1,207 to 1,282 dwellings in new and rehabilitated structures as against 1,188 existing living quarters, either a gain of 19 or 94 living quarters depending on the type of private rental housing constructed.

PLAN A
ESTIMATED POPULATION CHANGES, STAGE II
(Number of Individuals) (Pilot Area)

PERSONS RELOCATED TO MAKE WAY FOR:		
New construction		2,173
Rehabilitation		652
Public open areas		245
	TOTAL	3,070
POPULATION CAPACITY AFTER RENEWAL:		
New construction		3,087 to 3,312
Rehabilitation		448
	TOTAL	3,535 to 3,760
POPULATION INCREASE		465 to 690

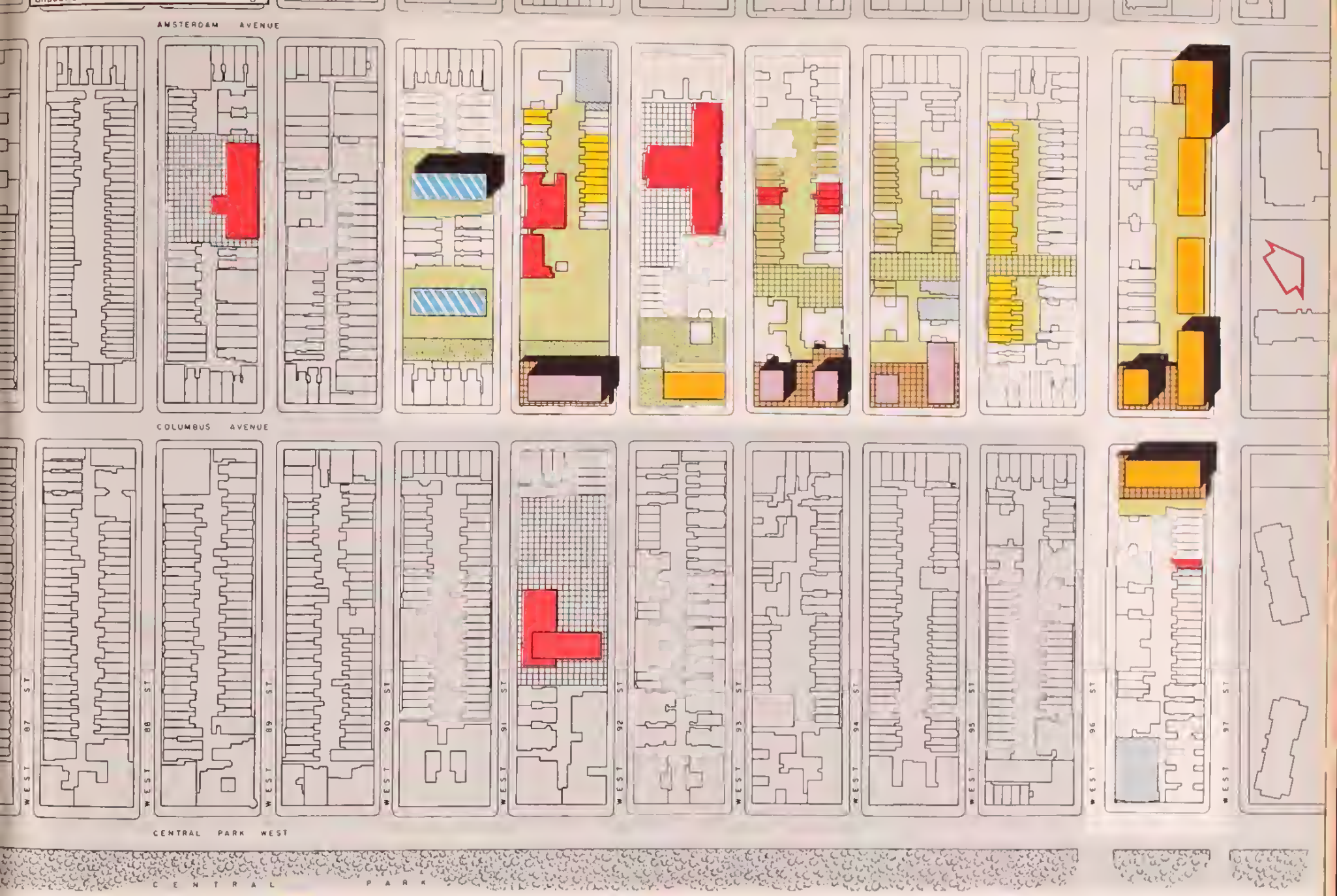
PLAN A
ESTIMATED COST OF RENEWAL, STAGE II
(Pilot Area)

Private rental housing	$9,625,900
Middle-income housing	5,177,900
Public housing	3,319,600

TOTAL NEW RESIDENTIAL CONSTRUCTION (Includes land, buildings and demolition)	$16,323,600
RESIDENTIAL REHABILITATION (Assuming minimum rehabilitation)	1,643,600
PUBLIC OPEN SPACES (Includes land, building, demolition, landscaping and site work)	262,700
TOTAL COST OF WORK IN STAGE II	$20,450,100

(Relocation costs are included in acquisition and construction estimates)

The estimated tax return on all new and rehabilitated buildings completed during Stage II is almost four times as much as is paid by the property now, $497,400 compared to $131,500.



Plan A
Stage II

- Rehabilitation
- Rehabilitation Done in Previous Stage
- New Private Housing
- New Middle Income Housing
- New Public Housing
- Building Yards
- Public Walks
- Aqueduct Property
- Religious Buildings
- Schools
- School Playgrounds
- Commercial, Ground Floor

CUMULATIVE RESULTS OF STAGES I AND II

The completion of Stages I and II would produce from 2,161 to 2,277 dwelling units in both new and rehabilitated structures, replacing 2,058 living quarters — a gain from 103 to 219 living quarters.

PLAN A
ESTIMATED POPULATION CHANGES THROUGH STAGE II
(Number of Individuals) (Pilot Area)

POPULATION RELOCATED TO MAKE WAY FOR:		
Private new rental housing		1,265
Private housing, rehabilitation		1,369
Middle-income housing		899
Low-rent (public) housing		1,334
Public open spaces		412
	TOTAL	5,279
POPULATION CAPACITY AFTER RENEWAL:		
Private new rental housing		2,121 to 2,469
Rehabilitated structure		961
Middle-income housing		1,330
Low-rent (public) housing		1,800
	TOTAL	6,212 to 6,560
POPULATION INCREASE		933 to 1,281

Dislocation of Site Residents

Alterations and demolitions through the first two stages of renewal in the pilot area will necessitate withdrawing from the housing inventory living quarters providing accommodations for 2,317 families or 5,279 individuals. Enforcement of the occupancy code in buildings not affected by renewal in Stages I and II will raise these figures by five to ten per cent. However, virtually all the overcrowded households live in structures earmarked for eventual rehabilitation or demolition so that code enforcement will therefore add hardly anything to the final relocation burden. Moreover, occupancy standards are already established by law, and would have to be considered regardless of a renewal program. While renewal will eventually result in a moderate expansion in housing accommodations and a vast improvement in housing standards, many site residents nevertheless face involuntary dislocation. But the effect of dislocation will be greatly reduced, even if never completely eliminated by a number of factors: the provision of new low-rent and middle-income housing; the services and financial aids of a relocation agency (see page 87); the length of the renewal period which will keep the relocation load down to fewer than 500 families a year; the speed with which rehabilitated structures can become available; the high mobility rate characteristic of the Area which insures a large number of voluntary move-outs; and, finally, the "newness" of the Area's population which eases the social wrench of dislocation in comparison with communities where neighborhood roots run deeper.

Assuming that the characteristics of the pilot area's residents, at the time renewal gets under way, remains approximately the same as was revealed by the 1956 survey, 25 per cent of the dislocated families will have incomes over $5,000 and 51 per cent will have incomes over $3,000 a year. Most of the over $5,000 group and many unattached individuals and childless couples with $3,000 to $5,000 incomes who wish to stay in the Area will be able to find accommodations in rehabilitated and new private or middle-income structures. Those who want or need cheaper quarters elsewhere will be aided in their search as well as receive relocation payments.

The approximately 1300 families with incomes under $3,000 create a more difficult relocation problem since only some 500 new public housing units are planned for the pilot area during the first two stages. For those who cannot be accommodated within the renewal area, public housing will be available at nearby locations and indeed throughout the City, together with acceptable units obtained in the private inventory over the five-year period. The lowest income families by and large occupy the worst and most overcrowded housing in the Area. Relocation should result generally in improving their housing conditions; they will receive assistance from the official relocation agency and must be relocated without overcrowding in standard housing which includes private bathroom facilities and adequate ventilation.

Thirty-seven per cent of the families now living in buildings likely to be rehabilitated or demolished are Puerto Ricans and an additional

By designing new buildings with recessed sidewalks, local service streets could be added along Columbus Avenue. See page 72

seven per cent are Negroes. The burden of relocation thus affects ethnic and racial groups in about the same proportion as these groups bear to the total population in the Area.

Density

The average density of the pilot area is now 492 persons per net acre (excluding streets), ranging from 157 persons from the block between West 92nd and West 93rd Streets to 857 persons per acre in the block bounded by West 90th and West 91st Streets, both between Amsterdam and Columbus Avenues. The estimated density at the end of Stage II would be between 7 and 9 per cent higher.

Since no marked change in over-all density was planned, it was unnecessary to utilize the entire potential zoning "envelope" or the full land coverage permitted under the present building and zoning regulations. Building heights, except for public housing, were held at 14 stories for all new construction. Some sites have higher than average densities but this is compensated by additional open spaces and lower density in the rehabilitated brownstones as room overcrowding is eliminated.

Graph No. 13

PLAN A
ESTIMATED COST OF RENEWAL THROUGH STAGE II
(Pilot Area)

Private rental housing	$14,774,200	
Middle-income housing	8,277,600	
Public housing	6,639,500	
TOTAL NEW RESIDENTIAL CONSTRUCTION (Includes land, buildings and demolition)		$29,691,300
RESIDENTIAL REHABILITATION (Assuming minimum rehabilitation)		3,869,400
PUBLIC OPEN SPACES (Includes land, building, demolition, landscaping and site work)		627,400
TOTAL COST OF WORK THROUGH STAGE II		$34,188,100

(Relocation costs are included in acquisition and construction estimates)

INCREASED REAL ESTATE TAX RETURN THROUGH RENEWAL
(Estimated for Pilot Area at the end of Stage II for Plan A)

The annual tax levy on the entire pilot area will be 67 per cent more than the present levy. The estimated tax return on the new construction and rehabilitation alone through Stage II is over three times the annual revenue from the structures presently on the same plots.

Stage III

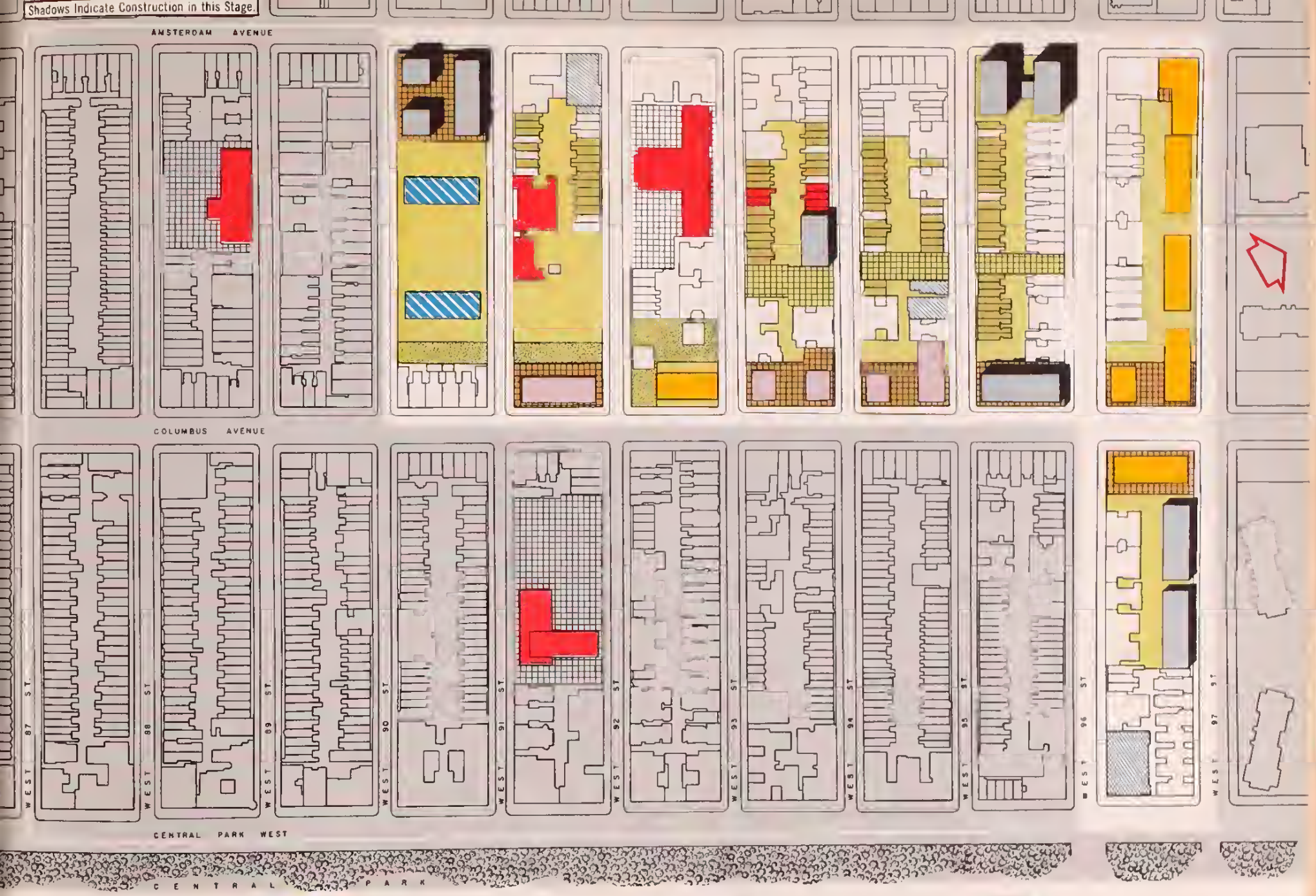
By the beginning of Stage III, renewal in the pilot area should be well under way. A system of small public open spaces, a new school, playgrounds, extensive rehabilitation and new construction would have been built or started. It is reasonable to expect that various social problems will have been ameliorated and that a more hopeful attitude will pervade the Study Area. By this time it should have become apparent to all that the neighborhood decline has been checked, with further improvements yet to come. If so, the crisis will have been passed in the renewal process.

In the third stage, then, the climate of opinion should make possible a surge of new private apartment buildings on the remaining building sites, made more desirable by the improvements of the two initial stages. Construction in Stage III would complete the redevelopment of Columbus Avenue between West 95th and 96th Streets and on 97th Street between Columbus Avenue and Central Park West.

With the supporting renewal of the centers of the blocks to the east, Stage III should also see a resumption of construction on Amsterdam Avenue. Two sites on this avenue are proposed in this stage: one between 95th and 96th Streets, and the other between 90th and 91st Streets. The former might be a private rental structure, the latter medium-rental under the limited-profit program.

A small apartment house is introduced into the south side of 94th Street west of Columbus Avenue. Once the brownstones have been rehabilitated, the center of the blocks, particularly along the small parks, become good locations for such small multi-family structures. The site lies between a private school and the park. It would eliminate five structurally deteriorated brownstones and one old-law tenement left over when the public open space was laid out in Stage II. A view of this structure is shown on page 41.

During Stage III the remaining old-law tenements adjacent to the new public housing between 90th and 91st Streets would be torn down. The New York City Housing Authority, which has handled relocation satisfactorily in the past, would have five years to relocate the tenants of these tenements so that demolition should not constitute excessive hardship for the people involved.



Plan A
Stage III

- Rehabilitation Done in Previous Stages
- New Private Housing
- New Middle Income Housing
- New Housing
- Building Yards
- Public Walks
- Religious Buildings
- Schools
- School Playgrounds
- Commercial, Ground Floor

Stage IV

Completion of Renewal in the Pilot Area

Stage IV would substantially complete the renewal of the pilot area. The main improvement in this stage would be the redevelopment of the remaining block fronts on Amsterdam Avenue. Other new buildings to be constructed would be modern apartment structures to replace four old-law tenements on the north side of West 96th Street, as illustrated on page 80. This building illustrates how renewal can reclaim left-over plots which an earlier boom left behind. With the stimulus of the renewal process, these remaining plots should become valuable. It can be expected that construction will take place once renewal has resulted in a degree of physical improvement in the neighborhood.

There remains a similar frontage on West 96th Street in the same block as the plot just discussed. These better old-law tenements may warrant rehabilitation or this site too might be redeveloped. In the block to the south, there are two old-law tenements adjoining the public walk which might be rehabilitated or used for a semi-public purpose. An old-law tenement between the two buildings to the east is also available, either for rehabilitation or perhaps for acquisition and demolition by the owners of the high-rise structures, to give light and air to their lower apartments. In such cases where elevator structures overshadow older, lower buildings, bad development could be corrected through the condemnation powers vested in the renewal agency.

The old-law tenements between the modern apartment buildings on 96th Street will probably be replaced as renewal again makes the area attractive. See page 80.

In Stage IV, a start can be made in providing public open spaces in the tier of blocks between Columbus Avenue and Central Park, starting with the block between West 96th and West 97th Streets, which will be solidly built up with elevator buildings. Since these structures will be in multiple ownership, the public open area could serve all the elevator buildings jointly. Such open spaces are provided in public and quasi-public housing projects and there is no good reason why a similar provision should not be made for private-rental areas as well. The cost of the open space is actually borne by the adjoining structures by an improvement in real estate value which also increases the tax payment to the City.

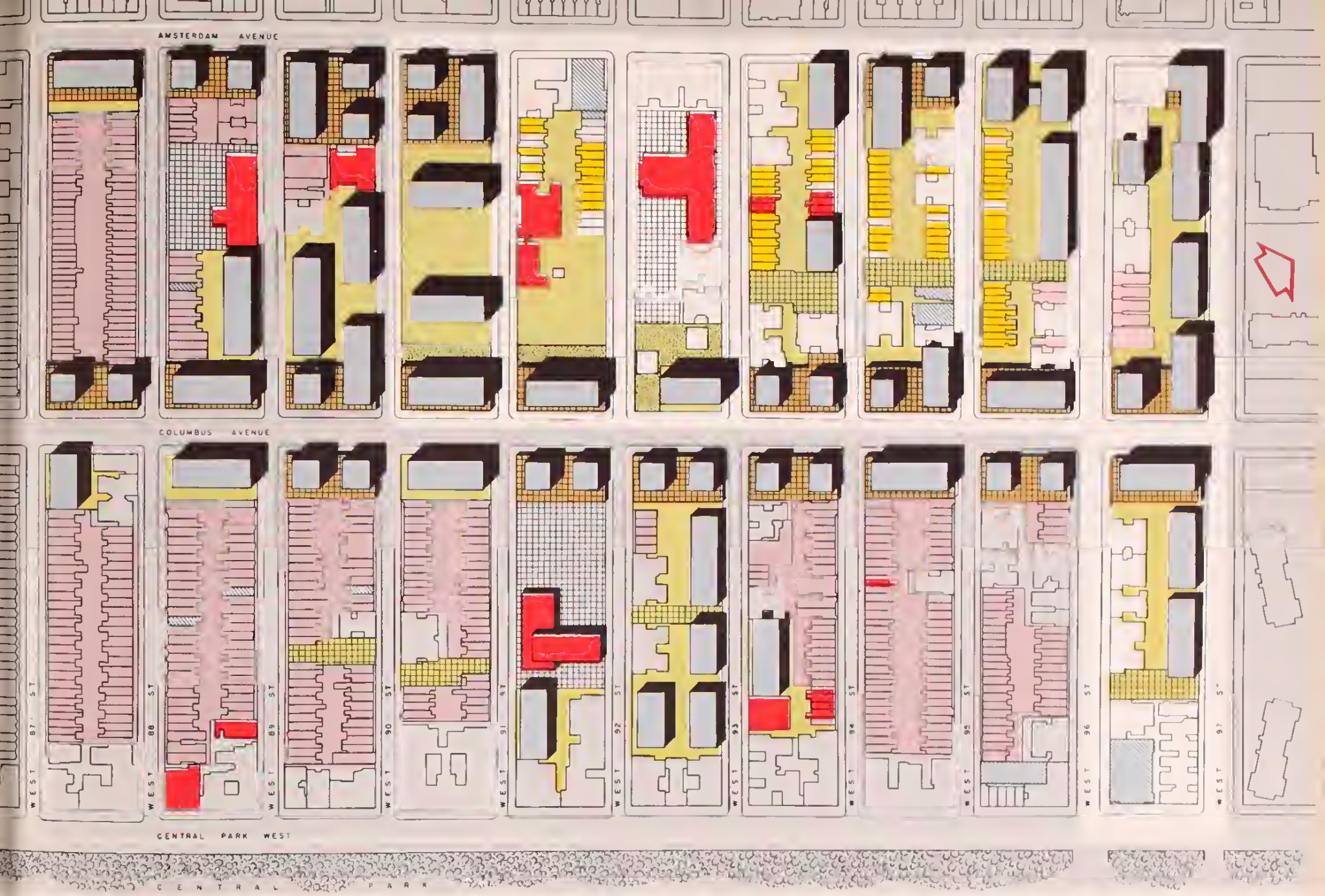
The Rest of the Study Area

The renewal process illustrated by stages in the pilot area might well apply to the entire twenty blocks of the Study Area. In an official renewal plan the twelve blocks outside the pilot area would of course receive the same attention as the eight blocks in it. In this report, however, because of the lack of detailed data on the outside twelve blocks, only a general outline of the final appearance of the full Study Area is shown.

The principal design feature is, as mentioned above, the redevelopment of Columbus Avenue. Other suggestions are the replacing of the concentrations of old-law tenements to the north of the proposed new elementary school site and to the south of the proposed public housing structures.

The balance of the existing structures, mostly brownstones, are shown as available for rehabilitation or redevelopment, to be determined by inspection and analysis of each building, and design considerations during the preparation of an official plan. It is hoped that many of these blocks can be rehabilitated, as, for example, was suggested for the block bounded by West 94th and West 95th Streets, Amsterdam and Columbus Avenues in the pilot area.

In this plan, public walks have been introduced into the block centers on a minimum basis because of the proximity of these blocks to Central Park. The walk between West 92nd and West 93rd Streets is justified by the high density resulting from a concentration of elevator buildings. The two walks south of the proposed elementary school give easy access to the playground and might be extended south to 87th Street.



Plan A
Stage IV

- Rehabilitation
- New Housing
- Potential Redevelopment or Rehabilitation
- Building Yards
- Public Walks
- Aqueduct Property
- Religious Buildings
- Schools
- Commercial, Ground Floor

So far, the renewal plan has suggested only public facilities and housing types already familiar to New York. However, other physical designs, not yet extensively found in the City, are available to increase the amenity of a high-density renewal area in a practical and economic manner. Of these, the main ones are making the smallwalk system continuous througbout the entire renewal area, closing unnecessary local streets to increase public open spaces, and using the air space over the avenues.

In a high-density area in multiple ownership like the Study Area, small public open spaces must supplement the private yards required by the zoning resolution. If tbe owners of any single building now in existence tried to acquire such open space for the exclusive use of its tenants, the land needed would be more than the aggregate amount sbown on page 73 .

A system of footpaths through small public open spaces leading to larger playgrounds and schools bas long been advocated by city planners since its first use in the nineteen-twenties in Radburn, across the George Washington Bridge in New Jersey. Stockholm is well on its way to developing such a net-work of footpaths through public gardens throughout the city. This concept of siting buildings around a central project open space has long been standard public housing design practice in the New York City Housing Authority, a practice which also has been used in sucb private development as the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company's Stuyvesant Town. The renewal process makes it possible to use this system in neighborhoods which combine various forms of bousing – higb and low-rise; public and private; upper, middle, and low-income.

The second technique, closing unneeded local streets, is now common practice in Title I redevelopment schemes throughout the country and has also been used in large-scale housing project developments, both public and private, bere in New York City. Traffic studies indicate that West 92nd Street between Amsterdam and Columbus Avenue is not essential to traffic movement. If the row of brownstones on the south side of tbe street were demolished, a large campus for the junior higb school could be created. The fact that Trinity School's playgrounds would be contiguous would serve to provide an impressive open space in the center of the Study Area.

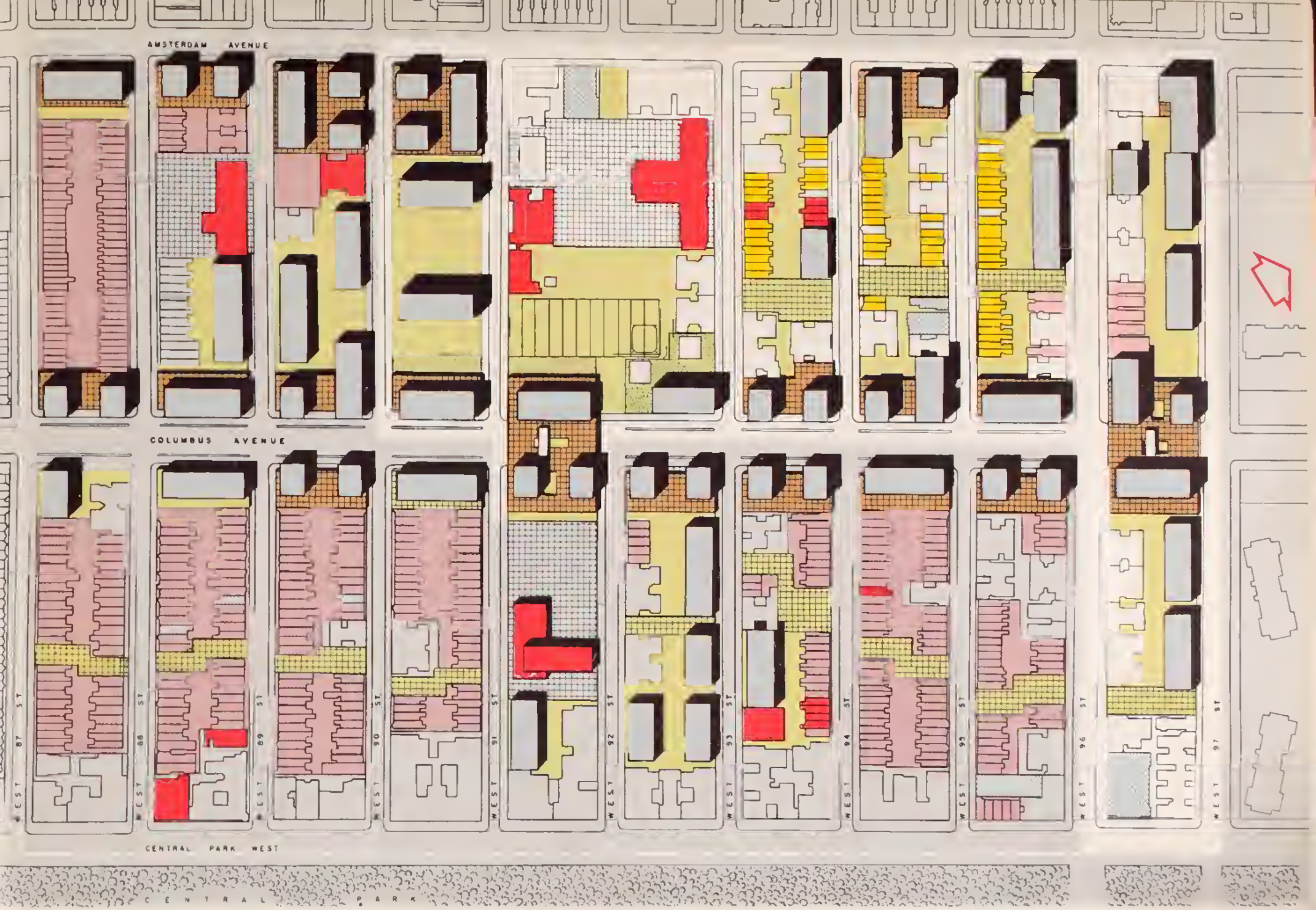
The third technique, the use of the space over the avenues, with the ground floor frontage used commercially, while less familiar, has some limited precedent in New York. One device for using air space in the Study Area is a single-decked parking garage over Columbus Avenue, as illustrated on page 63

The garage would serve several purposes in addition to making parking space available. It would make possible a pedestrian footway over Columbus Avenue to provide safe access to a better school site. The bridge would provide a visual break in Columbus Avenue. The upper deck of the garage would serve as a large yard for the apartment towers rising above it.

Given high-density development, the idea is economically sound. The apartment towers would be built on conventional foundations and the bridge would be supported by the same foundations. Assuming a garage rental of $35 per car per month for 400 cars on the overpass, and in two basement garages below the apartment houses (to meet the 20 per cent of dwelling units' parking requirement for all new apartment buildings in "A" and "B" zoning districts) the project would yield enough return to induce private investment under conventional mortgage terms.

Such air-right garages cannot be built over every block of an avenue. To do so would create ventilation problems and would transform the avenues to tunnels. However, spaced several blocks apart as suggested, such garages can be an architectural asset to the neighborhood.

Another space-conservation device suggested is the requirement that all structures built on Columbus Avenue have columns so spaced that it will be possible to place the sidewalks within the building line and thereby provide room for local access streets, separated by rows of trees from main traffic lanes without increasing the legal width of the avenue. The local access lanes could be used later to widen the main traffic lanes of Columbus Avenue should this become necessary or desirable. Such setback provisions are illustrated on page 67, which also shows the roof of ground floor stores serving as the yard of the apartment buildings above.



Plan A
alternate
Stage IV

- Rehabilitation
- New Housing
- Potential Redevelopment or Rehabilitation
- Building Yards
- Public Walks
- Aqueduct Property
- Religious Buildings
- Schools
- Commercial, Ground Floor

B

Design

The conditions and general planning principles which govern Plan B are the same as for Plan A. Bad structures must be removed and suitable building sites provided for new structures. But there remain many ways to lay out new buildings on sites of varying sizes, depending on the concepts of the designer. Plan B is presented as an alternate since there is no one best way to renew a neighborhood. When an official plan is made, there will have to be agreement on a general approach but the plan need not be so rigid as to exclude refinements and changes from time to time.

Plan B proposes rehabilitation of as many existing structures as possible, both brownstones and old-law tenements, whereas Plan A replaced the obsolete old-law tenement altogether.

Since some of the frontages on Columbus Avenue would be rehabilitated in Plan B, rather than rebuilt, this avenue would not have the same architectural unity and dramatic effect as in Plan A. Its appearance would be somewhat similar to that of other New York streets, such as Fifth Avenue below 14th Street in Greenwich Village. Similarly, on West 97th Street, rather than replacing the brownstones opposite the open areas of the Title I project to the north, Plan B proposes that brownstones in both blocks be rehabilitated. On the south side of West 96th Street near Amsterdam Avenue, a row of old-law tenements is considered for rehabilitation, but only after the renewal process has been under way for some time. Three tenement structures on the southeast corner of Amsterdam Avenue and West 94th Street, and the tenements on the end of the block between West 90th and 91st Streets on the western side of Columbus Avenue, have been scheduled for rehabilitation at an earlier stage, since they have better layouts than the usual tenement structure in the Study Area.

While a different sequence in the priority of rehabilitation is set up for the block between West 94th and West 95th Streets in the initial stages of Plan B, the end result is the same as in Plan A. Analysis of the individual structures indicates that the only possible additional rehabilitation in Plan B in this block is in the old-law tenements on the corner of Columbus Avenue and West 94th Street. However, the logical unit of reconstruction is not one corner but the entire end of the block, because it is not feasible to rebuild one corner while rehabilitating mediocre structures on the other. When the existing buildings are modern buildings of considerable value, then the new structure would have to be fitted into the remaining plot – as is suggested on West 97th Street at Amsterdam Avenue in both plans.

A variation on Plan B also shows a second-choice elementary school site between West 93rd and 94th Streets, just north of the junior high school. This site is limited by existing modern buildings to 78,852 square feet, or 7,944 square feet less than the preferred site.

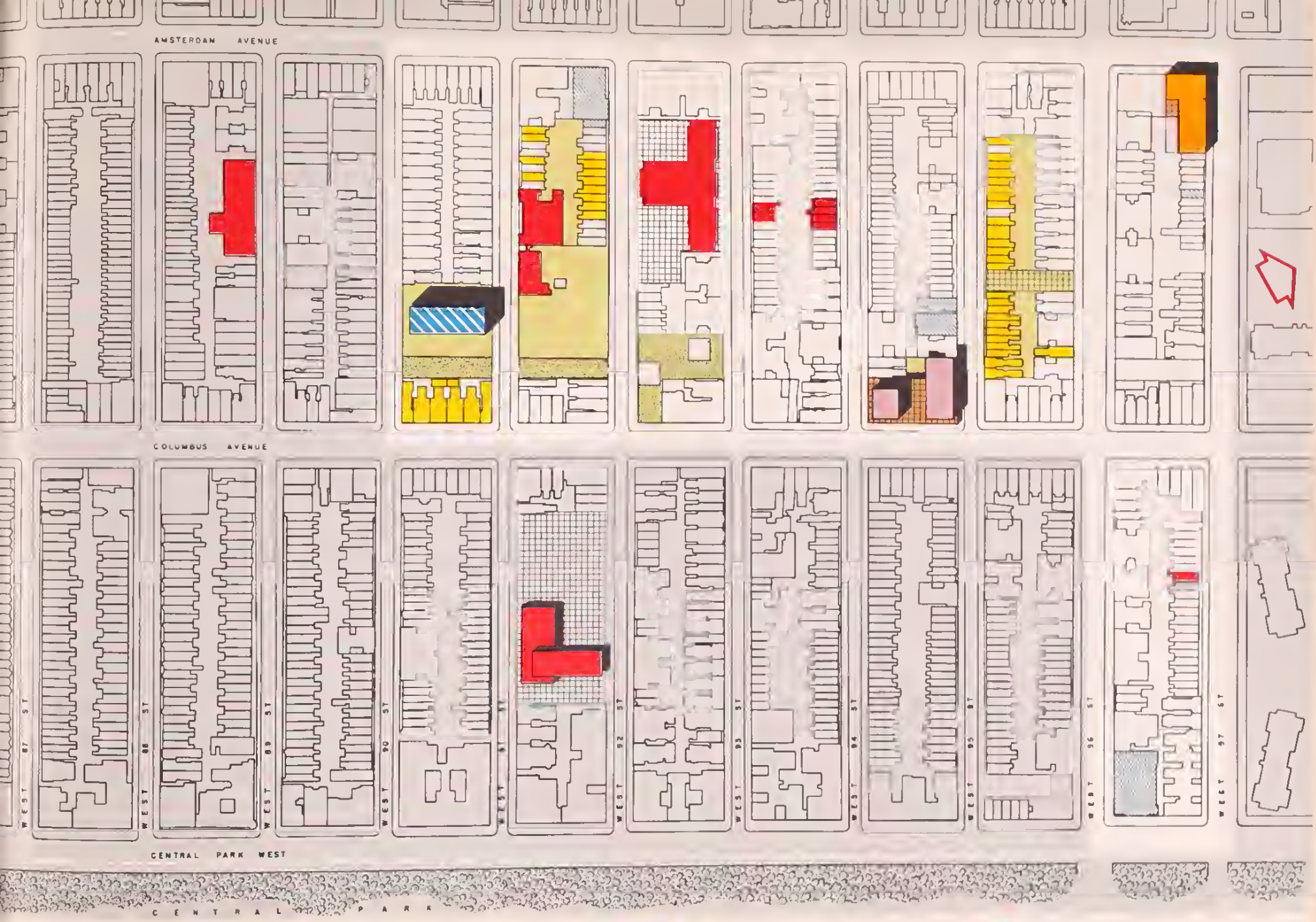
The density per net acre in Plan B at the end of Stage II is between 483 and 489 persons, as compared to between 524 and 535 for Plan A at the same stage – a consequence of emphasizing rehabilitation rather than new construction.

The estimated cost of new construction through Stage II in Plan B is about $22,253,000 of which $8,376,400 would be supplied by private investors. The total cost of all work to be undertaken through Stage II in Plan B would be $30,150,400. (See Financial Analysis, Plan B, Stages I and II, Appendix page 93.)

The present assessed valuation of the buildings to be demolished or rehabilitated is about $5,756,200; the assessed valuation for the new construction and rehabilitation is estimated at $16,956,300 – an increase of $11,200,100. The present tax levy is about $236,000 per year; taxes on the new and rehabilitated structures at the end of Stage II, using the same tax rate, would be $695,200 – an annual increase of $459,200 or almost three times as much as the present levy.

In Plan B, taxable assessment in the entire pilot area would be increased from $20,812,000 to $32,012,100 with the annual levy rising from $853,300 to $1,312,500 – an increase of almost 54 per cent. This is in contrast to a 67 per cent increase in Plan A.

New private housing in four multi-story buildings, containing from 372 to 432 apartments accommodating 1,116 to 1,296 persons, will replace two brownstones, 20 old-law tenements and two non-residential



Plan B
Stage I

- Rehabilitation
- New Private Housing
- New Middle Income Housing
- New Public Housing
- Building Yards
- Public Walks
- Aqueduct Property
- Religious Buildings
- Schools
- School Playgrounds
- Commercial, Ground Floor

buildings. The structures to be replaced presently contain 274 living quarters and house 773 persons. In contrast to Plan A, which would accommodate about 1,000 more persons in housing within this rental range than were previously housed in the structures to be replaced, Plan B provides accommodations for only an additional 343 to 523 persons.

Two middle-income housing projects, containing 356 apartments for an estimated 1,246 persons will replace four non-residential buildings and 22 old-law tenements presently containing 276 living quarters which together house 1006 persons. Plan A at the end of Stage II would provide accommodations for 431 more persons in new structures for this income category, while Plan B provides for an increase of 240 persons. Plan A also provides for a large number of new middle-income apartments, which can accommodate 1,330 persons.

The same amount of public housing is provided in both plans. But one result of the greater emphasis on rehabilitation in Plan B is a substantial reduction in the number of private rental apartments and a small reduction in the number of new middle-income units.

Summing up the changes at the end of Stage II in Plan B, from 2,334 to 2,394 dwelling units would have been made available, replacing 2,593 living quarters. Together with the people who must be relocated to provide room for public walks, 6,237 persons will be affected. The estimated population at the end of Stage II is from 84 to 264 persons less than now accommodated. The burden of relocation accompanying Plan B is slightly higher than in Plan A, involving 958 more persons and 601 more families. The percentage distribution of the affected persons and families by race and origin and income is roughly the same. (See Appendix, page 95.)

The main difference between Plans A and B is the quantitative importance of rehabilitation, as shown in the following table.

INCREASED REAL ESTATE TAX RETURN THROUGH RENEWAL
(Estimated for Pilot Area at the end of Stage II for Plans A and B)

Graph No. 14

SUMMARY OF COMPARATIVE DATA ON PLANS A AND B AT END OF STAGE II
(Pilot Area)

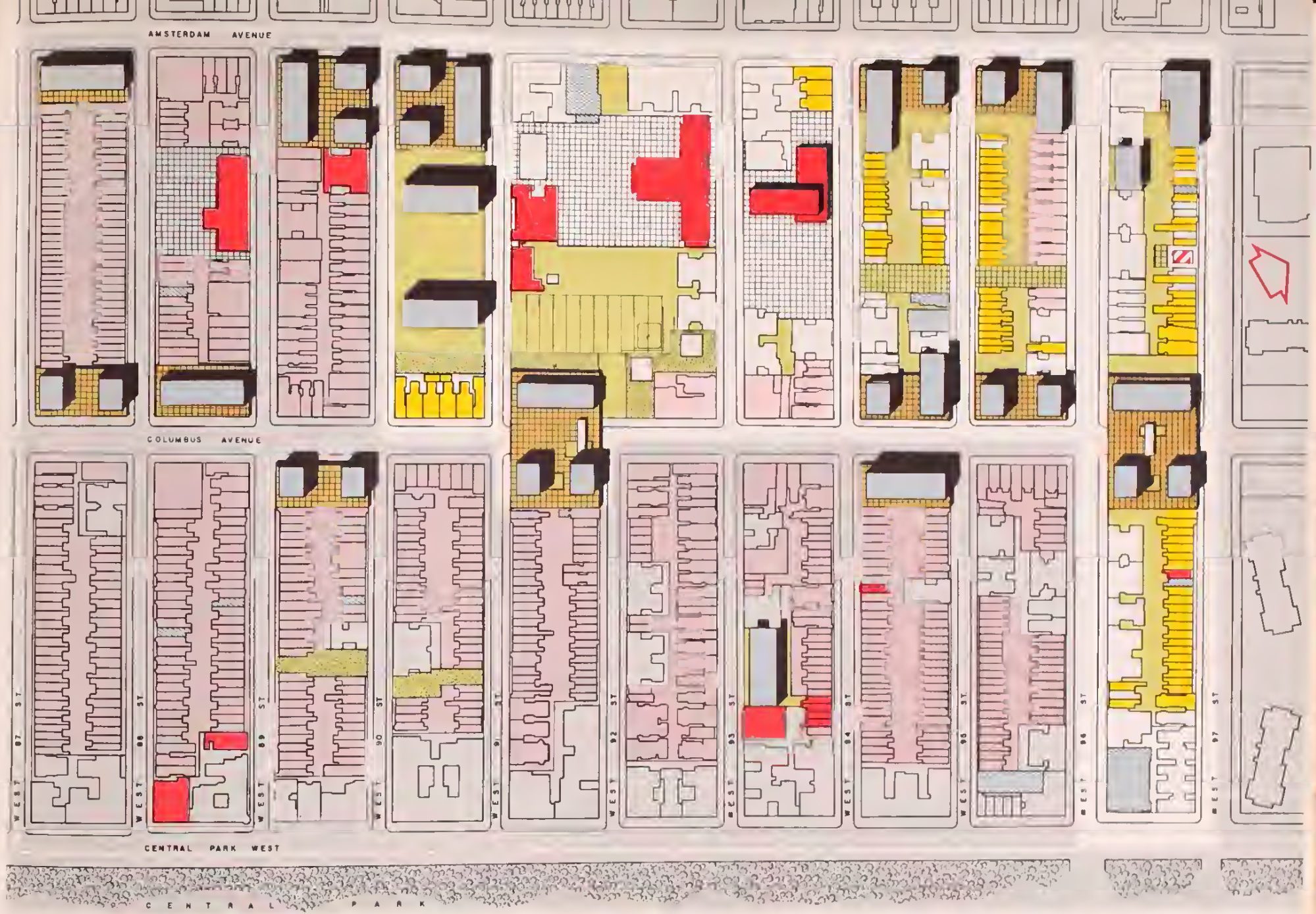
	PLAN A	PLAN B
Number of brownstones to be rehabilitated	75	110
Number of old-law tenements to be rehabilitated	0	15
Number of living quarters in buildings to be rehabilitated	726	1,435
Number of persons in buildings to be rehabilitated	1,369	2,833
Estimated future population in buildings to be rehabilitated	961	1,811
Estimated change in population in rehabilitated buildings	— 408	—1,022
Total cost of rehabilitation	$ 3,869,400	$ 7,552,700
Total cost of new residential construction	$29,691,300	$22,253,000
Total cost	$34,188,100	$30,150,400

Plan B
Stage II

- Rehabilitation
- Rehabilitation Done in Previous Stage
- New Private Housing
- New Middle Income Housing
- New Public Housing
- Building Yards
- Public Walks
- Aqueduct Property
- Religious Buildings
- Schools
- School Playgrounds
- Commercial, Ground Floor

Plan B
Stage IV

- Rehabilitation
- New Housing
- Potential Redevelopment or Rehabilitation
- Building Yards
- Public Walks
- Aqueduct Property
- Religious Buildings
- Schools
- Commercial, Ground Floor
- Possible Public Building



Plan B alternate Stage IV

- Rehabilitation
- New Housing
- Potential Redevelopment or Rehabilitation
- Building Yards
- Public Walks
- Aqueduct Property
- Religious Buildings
- Schools
- Commercial, Ground Floor
- Possible Public Building

SPACE FOR COMMUNITY SERVICES

The existing civic and professional organizations in the Study Area and in the rest of the Park West community are well aware that, while housing is their major problem, considerable expansion of educational, welfare and health services is needed to strengthen community life. The suggestions set forth here for providing space for such services have been based on an analysis of needs, and along lines similar to those suggested by leaders of the organizations in the community. These involve additional school facilities, play space, and a variety of other services. The rehabilitation of existing structures and the erection of new housing provide an opportunity to obtain them; and indeed such action is an integral part of the renewal process.

In New York City the precedents and machinery are already established to provide space for community activities along with various types of housing, such as are envisaged in the sample site plans discussed above. Public housing in the City has long recognized a responsibility to provide space for community activities, with the amount of space related to the size of the project. It is the regular practice of the New York City Housing Authority to work out with local community leaders the plans for the design and utilization of this space. The operation of the program for which the space is designed is placed in the hands of accredited community agencies, which serve as sponsors. For example, in the new public housing project just north of the Study Area (Douglass Houses), the Open Door Child Care Center will operate the day care program, and the Children's Aid Society the recreational program.

In an area such as this, there are several kinds of community activities, of the types often housed in public housing projects, which would be needed in a renewal program. These include: day care of children, a center for the aged, and recreation programs for all age groups, or some combination of these. The New York City Housing Authority, one of the agencies sponsoring the Urban Renewal Study, could be counted on to work co-operatively with local planning groups to determine what kind of service program would be needed in public housing units in the Study Area, within the available space limits.

Existing elevator buildings would make good neighbors for new apartment house replacing obsolete old-law tenements. *See page 46.*

The Open Door Child Care Center is the type of needed community facility which might be located in both co-operative and public housing structures

Community Rooms in Cooperative and Private Rental Projects

Cooperative housing in New York has also been responsive to the need for space to be used for community programs. According to the United Housing Foundation, at least five co-operative developments in New York City have designed rooms for community programs, and at least another twenty have subsequently converted smaller amounts of space to this use after the need has been demonstrated.

The opportunities for community space in private rental housing have so far been more limited. In some large rental projects, such as the New York Life Insurance Company's Fresh Meadows development in Queens, space has been provided for nursery school and various recreational purposes. A beginning has been made by cooperative and private builders. The possibilities for further development of space along lines which public housing has been following are being explored by community and housing groups.

Experience indicates that when space is included in the original design, the location of these community facilities and their design are well suited to their purposes. In some other cases, provision for com-

munity facilities has been made when the need became apparent after the houses were occupied. The space provided under these latter circumstances has necessarily been makeshift and has proved less satisfactory.

School Buildings and Playgrounds

In addition to space in new housing, needed community services can be provided for in other types of facilities. The Study Area already provides some excellent examples of this. The existing public elementary schools serve as a link with the neighborhood for both children and parents. The facilities of two are used for after school community centers. A new school temporarily serving as an additional facility and eventually replacing P.S. 93, designed with community needs in mind, could serve as another force for building neighborhood identity. All of the schools serving the Area have programs which they would like to expand, in order to help the processes of integration and renewal, by involving more parents in school activities which are hampered now by lack of space. The use of this new school for recreational and adult education activities could substantially supplement the community center program now operating in Joan of Arc Junior High and P.S. 93.

Space for Other Community Services

Leaders in the Study Area have emphasized the need for a settlement or neighborhood house and have outlined a variety of other service programs which would require space. While many of these can be provided for through existing facilities or can be planned for in new housing, a neighborhood house and possibly some other services will need housing of their own. Space might be provided for these in rehabilitated brownstones.

The location of these service units will need to be determined in relation to the groups they will be serving. Day care or day nursery facilities, in addition, need outdoor play space. If one of these were housed in a rehabilitated brownstone, it would be desirable for the building to be adjacent to one of the proposed mid-block open areas where play space would be accessible. Other services, like the neighborhood house, should be located in the heart of the urban renewal area so that such service buildings along with the junior high school and the new elementary school would be able to provide a central focus for the neighborhood.

A General Program — Not a Blueprint

As urban renewal progresses, other services may prove more necessary than those for which need is clear at the present time. For example, it is assumed at this point that additional public health facilities will not be needed, since the new Riverside District Health Center will be just north of the Study Area on 100th Street. However, there may well be a demand in the future for a medical unit or some other type of health facility in the Area. Needs in other fields also can be expected to change as planning for the neighborhood progresses.

It is clear that no detailed blueprint can or should be laid out in advance, nor would it be appropriate in a study such as this. Planning for facilities and programs should proceed step by step. Some of the general needs of the Study Area can be foreseen for the period during which urban renewal takes place and after it is completed, but it is not possible to determine in advance the exact nature of all the services the neighborhood will require in the future or where they can be most advantageously located. Thus while the report can show techniques for renewal of the Area, much of the detailed planning would rest with the local community working in partnership with the urban renewal agency on each aspect of the program as the need and opportunity arises.

The Joan of Arc Community Center; enlarged school playgrounds and a new elementary school would permit the extension of this program.

Renewal Tools and Related Programs

Federal Urban Renewal Legislation

The basic legislative framework for urban renewal is provided by the slum clearance and urban renewal provisions of the Housing Act of 1949, as amended, particularly in 1954. This Act has reflected the Congress' broadening concept of the measures necessary to repair and strengthen the physical fabric of American cities, and of the role of the Federal government in this vital undertaking.

Prior to 1949, such limited Federal assistance as was available focused primarily on slum clearance and the provision of decent housing for families of low income through the instrumentality of a public housing program. The Housing Act of 1949 represented an important departure. It recognized that "the realization as soon as feasible of the goal of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family" required *redevelopment* of cities, as well as slum clearance, and that the two were not entirely synonymous.

In Title I, the 1949 Act did two important things:

First, it authorized the acquisition not only of slum and deteriorated areas, but also of deteriorating areas, predominantly open blighted areas, and open land necessary for sound community growth. While primarily housing-oriented (all projects either had to eliminate bad housing or provide new housing), the Title I program thus permitted a range of community development and redevelopment activity, not slum clearance alone.

Second, it made Federal assistance available to foster increased private participation in slum clearance and community redevelopment in line with the policy that "private enterprise shall be encouraged to serve as large a part of the total need as it can." Private participation had been chiefly stymied by the difficulty and high cost of acquiring and clearing built-up sites so that they could be redeveloped. To clear this hurdle, in addition to authorizing public acquisition of sites the Act also authorized Federal grants to meet two-thirds of any write-down loss, the other third to be met by the local community. (The Housing Act of 1957 authorized an optional formula, increasing the Federal share to three-quarters of the write-down loss provided the locality meets the costs of preliminary planning.) As a result the land could be sold at a reduced price reflecting its fair value in relation to its publicly designated re-use.

The President's Advisory Committee on Government Housing Policies and Programs recommended in 1953 that the Federal assistance program *"should be geared to require cities to face up to the whole process of urban decay. It . . . should require clear and certain evidence as a precondition to Federal aid that the city is realistically addressing itself to the processes by which slums are formed, and is not simply engaging in superficial, piecemeal approaches which will waste both Federal and local funds. . . . Well planned urban renewal projects will, in most instances, involve clearance and redevelopment of some land, rehabilitation of some structures, and conservation of the entire neighborhood. . . . Under the broadened concept herein recommended, it is intended that loans and grants will be made for the re-establishment of sound, healthy neighborhoods in urban renewal areas."*

In line with this recommendation the Housing Act of 1954 gave explicit recognition to the need to continuously "renew" our cities. The name of the program was formally amended to Slum Clearance and Urban Renewal. To insure that Federal aid would be used effectively as part of a comprehensive program the Act required that the community develop an acceptable "workable program" in order to qualify for Federal assistance. Specifically, the workable program was directed to the following elements: codes and ordinances; comprehensive community plan; neighborhood analyses; administrative organization; financing; housing for displaced families; and citizen participation.

The 1954 Housing Act also put a new edge on the renewal tools. Where the 1949 Act was limited essentially to slum clearance and redevelopment (the bulldozer approach), the 1954 Act provided that an urban renewal project might involve rehabilitation and conservation as well. Thus the way was opened for the kind of urban renewal project suggested by this study.

In addition to continuing the basic forms of Federal assistance provided by the 1949 Act, new Federal Housing Administration mortgage insurance programs were developed in 1954 to foster private participation in urban renewal. The Section 220 program is of particular sig-

nificance in carrying through a renewal program of the kind described in this report. It permits mortgage insurance for new construction or rehabilitation within officially designated urban renewal areas, with terms that compare favorably with those available for new construction on vacant land.

Mortgages on new buildings eligible for Section 220 insurance may be insured by the FHA for an amount up to 90 per cent of replacement cost, and for a term up to 40 years; for rehabilitated buildings in renewal areas the terms are up to 90 per cent of appraised value for a period of 30 years or three-quarters of the building's economic life, whichever is less. Section 220 mortgages are also eligible for special assistance from the Federal National Mortgage Association (Fanny May). The current rate for both types of construction is five per cent plus one-half of one per cent mortgage insurance.

The need for Section 220 insurance was shown in the previous chapter. As the mortgage history of the Study Area illustrates, terms for available mortgages become more and more stringent in a declining area, making it extremely difficult to finance new construction or repairs. Within the framework of a renewal plan, however, the favorable terms of Section 220 would be an inducement to private building and rehabilitation. Together with the simultaneous renewal actions taken by the City, this activity should bolster existing values in the renewal area and encourage new development.

State Enabling Legislation for Urban Renewal

The New York State enabling legislation for carrying out an urban renewal project of combined rehabilitation and clearance in deteriorating areas is found in Section 72-m of the General Municipal Law. This 1957 statute represents the first fruits of the West Side Urban Renewal Study. It authorizes the exercise of eminent domain, the expenditure of public funds and other powers to carry out a duly adopted renewal plan. The statute further permits the municipality to receive financial assistance from the Federal government and otherwise participate fully in the Federal Urban Renewal Program. It is a correlative to Section 72-k of the General Municipal Law, which authorizes comparable powers within substandard and insanitary areas of a city.

A major premise of the State enabling legislation is that effective action in an urban renewal area requires active cooperation between the municipality and the community. Therefore, owners and residents within such areas are given every opportunity to participate in the shaping of the policies and plans for the project to ensure subsequent cooperation in activities necessary to the effectuation of the plan. Thus, the legislation provides for five separate public hearings before the City Planning Commission or the Board of Estimate at several stages in the development of the program; in actual practice the recommendations proposed by persons residing in the neighborhood would be given the fullest consideration.

The procedure for developing an urban renewal plan requires three main steps prior to acquisition of any property by the city:

First, the City Planning Commission designates a deteriorating area which must be found to exhibit enumerated characteristics of blight, including deteriorated buildings, inadequate open spaces, and improper use of buildings or land. Upon formal designation of the area, following a public hearing, the Commission makes a general statement of the land uses, layout of streets, population densities, building bulks, and general standards to guide the development of the area.

Second, a preliminary plan is developed for a specific project area or areas within the deteriorating area, by an agency designated by the Board of Estimate to carry out all renewal activities connected with the area. The preliminary plan, which must be in accord with the general standards established by the Planning Commission, must contain a detailed statement of existing conditions, together with a generalized plan for future development. The latter consists of proposed land uses and their interrelationship with the proposed pattern of traffic and transportation circulation in the project area; proposed community facilities and open space; proposed demolition of designated structures; proposed new construction (including buildings to be erected, rehabilitated, and converted), with a preliminary estimate of the number of dwelling units, density, and rent levels; proposed methods of financing; and the estimated housing needs of families to be displaced. The preliminary plan is subject to approval by the Planning Commission and Board of Estimate following public hearings.

Third, the agency refines the elements listed above and prepares a final plan, which is brought to a point where building parcels can be discussed with prospective sponsors. The final plan, which is subject to the same approvals as the preliminary plan, will include precise boundaries of public open spaces, new schools and other public improvements. A detailed cost estimate, methods of financing, programs and time sched-

ules for construction and rehabilitation are also required in the final plan.

Following the above steps, the Board of Estimate may acquire property, resell or lease it at public auction to the highest bidder, or otherwise dispose of such property. At appropriate points in the process, the City may cooperate and contract with the Federal government in a financial aid program under the urban renewal provisions of the Federal housing act, and provide local grants in aid and issue bonds.

Housing Legislation

The low-rent public housing suggested for renewal could be provided by either Federally or State-aided public housing projects which are built and managed by the New York City Housing Authority. While the Federal and State public housing programs are similar in many respects, the State program permits a wider range of income and rent levels, and has less stringent rules and regulations with respect to provision of community facilities and services. The greater flexibility afforded would be a definite asset to urban renewal. An added advantage to including State-aided public housing initially, is that there would then be a partnership of all three levels of government with private enterprise in the urban renewal project.

The prime vehicle for the development of new middle-income housing, as envisaged in this study, is the Mitchell-Lama Limited Profit Housing Companies Law (Article 12 of the State Public Housing Law). Enacted in 1955 and subsequently amended, the Mitchell-Lama law is presently facilitating private development of middle-income housing financed with State or City loans. It authorizes State or municipal low-cost loans of up to 90 per cent of total development cost to publicly supervised limited profit housing companies engaged in the construction and mortgaging of cooperative and rental developments. It also authorizes partial tax exemption.

The Redevelopment Companies Law, under which such projects as Stuyvesant Town and Corlears Hook have been built, might also be utilized for the development of middle-income housing in the renewal area. This law authorizes condemnation and partial tax exemption subject to public supervision of profits and rents. The FHA Section 213 program, which provides liberal mortgage terms for cooperative developments, may also be of benefit to some renewal areas.

Renewal by Stages

The renewal plans developed in this study are arbitrarily divided into four steps or stages of two and a half years each. Though in practice such phasing will be far more flexible, the fact remains that renewal is a gradual and cumulative process. The advantages of phasing are several. For one, the judicious phasing of public investment and improvements in the early stages can lay the groundwork for a high proportion of private investment in the later stages. For another, the relocation problem is spread over a longer period of time, and the possibility of relocation within the local area is greatly enhanced. An even greater benefit is that neighborhood organizations are not destroyed and the continuity of neighborhood life is not disturbed in the renewal process. Renewal can be like pruning a tree, resulting in a healthier and more fruitful organism.

If a local area is to be successfully renewed in a series of phases, however, the basic integrity of the renewal plan must be protected over the duration of the renewal process. At the same time, there must be sufficient flexibility to permit the desirable modifications that will be inevitable as the renewal plan unfolds and the area changes and improves. The enabling legislation under which the renewal program will operate is sufficiently flexible to permit desirable plan modifications by the renewal agency with the approval of the Planning Commission and the Board of Estimate. While an individual property owner within the area might attempt to adversely influence or act in conflict with the official renewal plan, the renewal agency has the power to acquire such property through condemnation. Furthermore, a deviation from the plan is not as easy as it might seem; there would be considerable difficulty in obtaining public or private financing or mortgage insurance for either new construction or rehabilitation not in conformity with the official plan.

Migration and Renewal

The kind of excessive population turnover which has weakened the housing fabric not only of the Study Area, but of many other sections of the City as well, is paradoxically a by-product of New York City's post-war prosperity. Opportunities for improved employment have attracted low-income families to New York from many sections of the country, particularly the South, and in large numbers from Puerto Rico. Under the limitations of a tight housing supply and high land and construction costs, the brownstones and tenements of the West Side – relatively easily and cheaply converted to single-room occupancy units – provided accommodations, no matter how inadequate, for the new-

comers – at least until they could improve their lot and move on to something better. Thus, the Study Area, in common with much of the rest of the West Side, as well as other sections of the City, took on the character of an unorganized and temporary reception center.

As previously stated, the reduction of excessive population turnover must be one of the prime objectives of an urban renewal program for the Area. The substitution of standard apartments for the "room and hot-plate" units into which an increasing proportion of the Area's housing has been carved, will go a long way towards accomplishing this objective. It will tend to give the neighborhood the relative population stability necessary to achieve and maintain improved living conditions. Furthermore, the benefits of renewal will accrue not only to the neighborhood as a physical entity, but to those of its present residents who are at once an unwilling cause and the chief victims of its substandard housing conditions.

An official urban renewal plan for the area, based on the policies developed in this study, would preserve to a high degree the economic integration which has been an historic asset of the West Side. Decent low-rent housing accommodations in the Area would not only improve the living conditions of many of its present residents, but would substantially ease their assimilation into the community. (The Housing Authority has previously stated that it would consider waiving its two-year residency requirement under certain circumstances.) For those persons who could not be accommodated within the renewal area, the safeguards of an official renewal program would be assurance that they would be relocated to standard apartments without overcrowding. At the very least, this would represent a substantial improvement for those who live in the Area's overcrowded tenements and brownstones.

But while a renewal program in a local area can deal with the effects of a large-scale in-migration, it cannot deal with the causes. The pressure will continue to be exerted on other sections of the City which will be susceptible to the same kind of vicious circle that has entrapped the Study Area. A solution to a complex problem of this nature is not easily come by, and obviously was beyond the scope of a renewal study devoted to a limited area. Nevertheless, the study has confirmed the importance of seeking such a solution. Just as the City cannot afford to wait until deteriorating areas become slums requiring clearance, neither can it wait until relatively sound areas begin the process of deterioration. Nor can it find a solution only in shoring up declining areas; even were this possible, ultimately such a one-sided approach must lead to a dead end. It is quite apparent that attention must be given to relieving the basic pressure, as well as to treating its effects. There must be careful study of the means for bringing the rate of in-migration and the supply of adequate housing, needed to accommodate the migrants and ease their adjustment, into better balance. The need for additional or special Federal aid to help meet this problem must also be considered.

Reduction of Overcrowding

The reduction of overcrowding within existing housing, necessary to the success of a renewal plan, is an extremely difficult and complicated problem. The occupancy provisions of the State Multiple Dwelling Law, with a formula based upon a stated number of cubic feet per person, permits serious overcrowding, particularly in older buildings with high ceilings. As a result, a City Multiple Dwelling Code was recently adopted imposing higher minimum standards based on floor area, which go into effect after 1960.

Enforcement of occupancy regulations, however, is not a simple matter during a period of housing shortage. The Department of Buildings may bring offending landlords to court, but courts are reluctant to evict people who have no place to go for shelter. The Department of Welfare is helpless alone, since it must use whatever shelter is available. The Housing Authority cannot accommodate all applicants or admit some families who do not meet eligibility requirements. By itself, each agency finds itself unable to do the job properly.

While there is no simple answer to the problems of enforcement, an experimental program like that in process in the Chelsea area holds promise of substantial results. While this does not increase the housing supply, it is designed to improve living conditions by correcting violations in substandard buildings, by reducing overcrowding, and through a process of constant attention on the part of residents and local agencies, maintain the gains once made.

The key to the experiment has been a joint approach to the problem on the part of the Departments of Buildings, Health, Education, Welfare, Sanitation, Police, the Housing Authority and the State Rent Commission, together with the Hudson Guild and the residents and owners of buildings. Tenants have been helped to improve their living

standards, in some cases to utilize community services, and to take legal action where necessary in their own behalf. They have had support at every point from the Guild, a staff member accompanying the complainant to court where necessary. The City Department worked with the tenants and the Guild at each step. Such an approach might be applied to sections of the Study Area where rehabilitation will not take place immediately.

Relocation

The renewal program will necessarily result in the displacement of a number of families. The extent of this relocation was discussed in the section on physical planning. As previously noted, the problem is mitigated by the fact that a renewal program would be a series of small operations carried out in stages. While these stages may not be as neatly separated in practice as suggested, nevertheless they would make it possible to spread relocation over a considerable period of time and thus permit a substantial part of the movement to take place within the 20-block area.

Relocation procedures are bound up with other problems. In the type of renewal program suggested, there would be a series of small projects, with the number of persons who must be relocated varying from a few to a few hundred. The builders and developers would include many small operators undertaking the rehabilitation of a single or a few brownstones or erecting a single new building. These people have neither the desire nor ability to undertake relocation. Thus it is preferable that relocation be independent of construction, rehabilitation, or demolition for open spaces or other public purposes. Relocation programs and techniques should be the concern of a single agency – public or private – regardless of the reason for relocation, including the elimination of illegal overcrowding.

The agency would of course also cooperate closely with the Department of Buildings so that relocation to do away with over-occupancy could proceed simultaneously with the removal of tenants from buildings scheduled for demolition or rehabilitation. Families and individuals forced to move because of public programs must be assured of equal treatment, a condition which is difficult to observe if relocation for each building is handled separately. Relocation will be further complicated by the varying Federal and City relocation aids for projects being built under different programs. A relocation agency would have to work out means both to coordinate and to equalize the assistance offered those forced to move so as to insure fair and uniform treatment to all; it would work in close cooperation with the neighborhood organization and local agencies to give the necessary aid to families involved.

The agency handling relocation must be responsible and have demonstrated its fairness and competence. Several experienced organizations, both public and private, which have handled relocation on a large scale are available to carry out both the preliminary research into methods and their application. It may be that the agency running such a renewal program might find it advisable to establish its own relocation service, or it might contract with one of the established, experienced agencies to do the job. There is no principle of public versus private agencies involved in this question. It is only required that the job be done fairly and well.

"Brick and Mortar" Demonstration Project

While the essential techniques and principles of the kind of urban renewal program suggested in this report can be developed through a study, they can be proved only through operation. This is particularly true of the proposal to weave rehabilitation and new construction into an integrated plan. It is also true of the concept of creating new and needed public open spaces in a section like the pilot area, while preserving the existing street system.

Accordingly, with the approval of the Mayor, the possibility of obtaining an additional Section 314 grant for a "brick and mortar" demonstration rehabilitation project has been discussed with the appropriate Federal officials. Such a project would be for the purpose of actually rehabilitating a group of brownstones, and in connection therewith for providing a public open space of the type suggested in the design plans worked out for this study. Discussions have also been held with both local and Washington FHA officials to work out reasonable property standards so that rehabilitation plans of the type developed will be eligible for Section 220 mortgage insurance, and so that the "220" insurance could be used in the brick and mortar demonstration. This project would thus provide a limited, but important, field test of renewal recommendations.

Community Participation

Since this study is also concerned with techniques designed to arrest deterioration by strengthening the positive elements in a community, great emphasis has been placed upon cooperation between official agencies and the community and upon the community's active participation in renewal programs. To be effective, participation must come from all groups which have a stake in the community's future, including residents, property owners, businessmen, and the personnel of educational institutions, churches and social agencies. During the course of the study, contacts were made and discussions of community problems were held with all of these groups. It is quite apparent that a substantial number of citizens in and near the Study Area want to participate actively in planning and carrying out the processes of urban renewal.

Local Community Responsibilities

Strong local support for a renewal program is needed in order to encourage both public agencies and private investors to carry through a program. Before an official renewal plan is adopted, the community and its agencies must review it in its formulation as well as in the public hearings outlined above. Local organizations will need to take an active part in the development and carrying out of an enforcement program to relieve conditions in substandard housing, and should similarly have responsibilities in the development of a relocation program. They will work with the urban renewal agency to plan for the kind of space required for community services, and with Park West and City-wide agencies to obtain additional personnel to operate programs in the new space. These responsibilities can be effectively discharged only if there is some kind of local organization through which those interested in participating can work.

The study revealed that while there are many organizations serving Park West as a whole, there is no neighborhood planning organization which serves the Study Area and its immediate periphery. In considering the possibilities of community organization and in evaluating its potentialities, it is desirable to refer to planning in connection with urban renewal in other parts of the country.

Experience of Other Cities

Urban renewal studies and projects are under way in a large number of other cities all over the country, and a number of these have gone through the planning stages and are now in operation. In developing community relationships, it has been the general practice to involve citizens through existing established neighborhood organizations. Where no local organization exists, it has been the practice to help local citizens to set one up. In Dayton, Ohio, for example, professional staff have been made available, through the Area Councils Project of the Community Welfare Council, to several neighborhoods, including one urban renewal area, to help residents to organize to work together on their common problems. In Philadelphia, Baltimore, Dayton, Detroit, Cleveland, and other cities throughout the country a professional community organization worker is provided, often through the Welfare Council, to assist renewal areas. In some cases this worker is on the staff of a neighborhood house and also associated with the Welfare Council, as in Germantown and the East Poplar renewal areas in Philadelphia; in others he may be identified solely with the Welfare Council as in Dayton.

The trend has been to identify the community organization aspects of urban renewal with non-governmental bodies in the community. The citizens, through neighborhood and community organizations, work in partnership with the governmental urban renewal agency but retain their own identity as independent organizations. In a few cases governmental financing is provided for community organization costs, as in Dayton, where the City Planning Commission purchased staff service through the Community Welfare Council, and in Philadelphia, where the Planning Commission purchased service for one unorganized area through the Citizens' Council on City Planning. Generally such financing has been handled on a contract basis with non-governmental agencies, with the contract including provisions for the protection of the citizens' rights to independent action.

Local Neighborhood Planning

Since neighborhood participation is an essential part of a renewal venture, the way in which it can be effectively developed is of importance. In some areas selected for renewal, residents will already have a council or civic organization through which they can operate. If such a neighborhood planning organization does not exist (as in the Study Area), this is not something which can be brought hastily into being. As a first step here, and in other unorganized renewal areas, leaders of

groups within the neighborhood might serve as the nucleus of a consultant group to provide liaison with an official urban renewal agency. With the help of a community organization worker, local citizens can define their responsibilities clearly and establish relationships to the urban renewal agency and to broader community and City-wide organizations. One of their essential functions would be to provide a channel of communication between residents and the urban renewal agency, and to plan with local and City-wide organizations for new and expanded services and for new approaches to some community problems.

The three neighborhood houses previously referred to are considering, with the assistance of United Neighborhood Houses, the kind of program one or more of them might be able to operate to supplement existing services to the Study Area and vicinity. The study findings would suggest that if a neighborhood house does locate in the Area, it might provide some of the services community leaders have emphasized as essential, such as neighborhood information and referral service, orientation programs for in-migrant families and for families going into public housing, the direction of community service programs in public and cooperative housing, and the utilization of space in private schools and religious institutions where it can be made available.

While emphasis has been placed here on the neighborhood which would be involved physically in an urban renewal project, the significance of a community such as exists in Park West is of equal importance. In contrast to many equivalent areas in the City where no organization exists, Park West has a wealth of leadership and a network of organizations. This community will be directly affected by what happens in the Study Area and could be counted upon to take an active part in a renewal program. While Park West organizations with their responsibilities for approximately 300,000 people could not be expected to engage in efforts to involve the residents of a local 20-block area in neighborhood participation, these organizations do play an important role in general planning and in planning for services which must be considered from the point of view of the larger community as well as the neighborhood. It is therefore expected that the community organization staff referred to in relation to the neighborhood will be working at the community level as well. This proposal does not envisage the establishment of yet another organization, but an attempt to facilitate joint planning where this is necessary to accomplish the purposes of renewal.

City-wide Participation

It is not only undesirable for any local neighborhood to operate in isolation; it is literally impossible for it to do so. Decisions about housing and schools for a small area have to be made in relation to the needs of the larger Park West community, in this case, and of the City as a whole. The same inter-relationship applies to many services such as welfare, day care, family counselling, and health services, which are actually operated by City-wide organizations. It is essential, therefore, that provision be made for sound community planning for urban renewal at the City-wide level and that it be directly related to community and neighborhood planning. It is therefore suggested that a consultant group made up of key City-wide organizations, including business, social welfare and other community interests, be set up as soon as possible to observe and advise on the progress of urban renewal planning. It is expected that, as in the local area, a more formal structure will eventually emerge at the City-wide level. It can be anticipated that this group will also need the help of professional staff to facilitate and give direction to its planning.

No attempt has been made to explore methods of financing the proposed community organization program described, although it is considered quite probable that foundations, recognizing the significance of urban renewal to the City, could be interested in providing funds to carry this aspect of the program through the initial stages, and that such funds could be obtained and administered by one or a combination of the broad City-wide social-planning agencies. Decisions about long-range financing can be made with greater certainty when an acceptable long-range plan has been developed.

The organizational plan suggested at local and City-wide levels is purposely stated in general rather than specific terms. The exact pattern best suited to New York City will need to be developed as the urban renewal program progresses. It could hamper rather than facilitate development to attempt to outline an organizational plan which cannot be projected with accuracy at this point. This report suggests a method by which deteriorating communities within the City can be rebuilt and maintained. If the public reaction to the proposals made is favorable, it will be possible to go on to more specific planning to implement them. It should be emphasized that the report is only an initial step and that a realistic program can only emerge as experience is gained from actual operation.

APPENDIX A

ASSUMPTIONS USED IN PREPARATION OF PLANS AND ESTIMATION OF COSTS

1. HEIGHT OF BUILDINGS

All new buildings at 14 stories except two public housing structures at 20 stories, and two private structures on West 97th Street between Columbus and Amsterdam Avenues at eight stories.

2. AREAS, ROOMS, AND OCCUPANCY

Type of Housing	Sq. ft. per constr. room	Constr. rooms per apt.	Rental rooms per apt.	Persons per apt.
Conventionally financed	320	3.5	4.0	3.0
F.H.A.	275	3.5	4.0	3.0
Middle income	255	4.0	4.5	3.5
Public	215	4.0	4.5	3.8
Rehabilitation	–	–	–	1.6

3. FUTURE OCCUPANCY

Number of new apartments multiplied by the estimated average number of persons per apartment.

4. COST OF SITE ACQUISITION

120% of 1956-57 assessed values.

5. DEMOLITION COST OF PEDESTRIAN WALKS

Based on cubage estimates ranging from $.03 to $.05 per cubic foot and depending upon location and amount of demolition.

6. ESTIMATED BUILDING COST

a) **Rehabilitation:** Based on estimates of architectural consultants and independent contractors with remodeling experience in the Study Area.

b) **New Construction Costs per cubic foot:**

Type of Housing	Constr. type	Constr. cost	Constr. and other costs*
Conventionally financed	Fireproof	$1.30	$1.50
Conventionally financed	Fire resistive	1.25	1.45
FHA	Fireproof	1.30	1.50
Middle income	Fireproof	1.25	1.45
Public	Fireproof	1.25	1.45

*Includes relocation, demolition, construction, professional fees, carrying charges and miscellaneous other costs. Excludes land.

7. ESTIMATED TOTAL COSTS

Sum of Item Four, "Cost of Acquisition," and Item Six, "Estimated Building Costs."

8. ESTIMATED ASSESSED VALUATION AFTER IMPROVEMENT

The change in assessed value was determined separately for land and structures based on current formulas and assessment practices for each of the various classes of housing.

9. ESTIMATED ASSESSED VALUATION PER SQUARE FOOT

The estimated assessment divided by the future plot area.

10. PRESENT TAXES

Based on tax rate of 4.1 per $100 of current assessed valuation.

11. ESTIMATED TAXES

Based on tax rate of 4.1 per $100 of estimated assessed valuation after improvement.

12. ESTIMATED OPERATING EXPENSES

Conventionally financed	$110 per rental room per year
F.H.A. housing	93 per rental room per year
Middle-income housing	78 per rental room per year

13. RETURN ON INVESTMENT BEFORE DEPRECIATION AND DEBT SERVICE

Private housing	9%
F.H.A. housing	7½%

APPENDIX B

ESTIMATED COSTS AND RENTS OF A NEW CONVENTIONALLY FINANCED HOUSING DEVELOPMENT

(Assumed Location: Block No. 1851 Columbus Avenue Between 96th and 97th Streets)

DEVELOPMENT COSTS

Building (2,360,700 cu. ft. at $1.30 per cu. ft.)	$3,068,900
Interest charges, taxes, relocation, demolition, and other incidental development costs	413,500
Site acquisition	577,600
TOTAL	**$4,060,000**

FINANCIAL INVESTMENT

Mortgage	$2,706,600
Equity	1,353,400
TOTAL	**$4,060,000**

ANNUAL OPERATING COST

	Total	Per rental room
Maintenance, operation, and replacement reserve	$ 82,000	$110
Real estate taxes	130,600	174
Return on investment before depreciation and debt service: $4,060,000 x 9%	365,400	485
TOTAL	**$578,000**	**$769**

ANNUAL INCOME

Cross residential rents less 4% vacancy	$520,000	$692
Carage rentals, net after operating costs	20,000	27
Stores, net rental	38,000	50
TOTAL	**$578,000**	**$769**

Monthly rent,* average per D.U. (188 D.U.)	$240.00
Monthly rent, average per rental room (752 rental rooms)	60.00

*Excluding tenant gas and electricity, estimated at an average of $7.00 per dwelling unit per month.

APPENDIX C

ESTIMATED COSTS AND RENTS UNDER F.H.A. SECTION 220 FINANCING

(Assumed Location: Block No. 1851 Columbus Avenue Between 96th and 97th Streets)

DEVELOPMENT COSTS

Building (2,360,700 cu. ft. at $1.30 per cu. ft.)	$3,068,900
Interest charges, taxes, relocation, demolition, and other incidental development costs	413,500
Site acquisition	577,600
TOTAL	**$4,060,000**

FINANCIAL INVESTMENT

Mortgage	$3,654,000
Equity	406,000
TOTAL	**$4,060,000**

ANNUAL OPERATING COSTS

	Total	Per rental room
Maintenance, operation, and replacement reserve	$ 82,000	$ 93
Real estate taxes	130,600	149
Weighted average return on investment before depreciation: $4,060,000 x 7½%	304,500	346
TOTAL	**$517,100**	**$588**

ANNUAL INCOME

Gross residential rents less 3% vacancy	$459,100	$522
Garage rentals, net after operating costs	20,000	23
Stores, net rental	38,000	43
TOTAL	**$517,100**	**$588**

Monthly rent,* average per D.U. (220 D.U.)	$179.28
Monthly rent, average per rental room (880 rental rooms)	44.82

**Excluding tenant gas and electricity, estimated at an average of $7.00 per dwelling unit per month.*

APPENDIX D

ESTIMATED COSTS AND RENTS OF A COOPERATIVE HOUSING DEVELOPMENT BUILT UNDER THE NEW YORK STATE LIMITED PROFIT HOUSING ACT

(Assumed Location: Block No. 1225 Columbus Avenue Between 96th and 97th Streets)

DEVELOPMENT COSTS

Building (1,813,400 cu. ft. at $1.25 per cu. ft.)	$2,200,750
Interest charges, taxes, relocation, demolition, and other incidental development costs	318,070
Site acquisition	514,800
TOTAL	**$3,099,620**

FINANCIAL INVESTMENT

Mortgage (40 years, 90%, City)	$2,789,658
Equity (tenant-cooperators, 10%)	309,902
TOTAL	**$3,099,620**

ANNUAL OPERATING COSTS

	Total	Per rental room
Maintenance, operation and replacement reserves	$ 51,246	$ 78
Real estate taxes	60,301	92
Interest and amortization on loan	118,839	181
Management and supervision fee (City)	1,183	2
TOTAL	**$231,629**	**$353**

ANNUAL INCOME

Gross residential rents less 3% vacancy	$173,045	$263
Garage rentals, net after operating costs (90 cars)	20,000	
Stores, net rental	38,000	
Washing machines	584	
TOTAL	**$231,629**	**$353**

Down payment, average, per rental room (657 rental rooms)	$472.00
Monthly charges,* average, per D.U. (146 D.U.)	95.81
Monthly charges, average, per rental room	21.29

**Excluding tenant gas and electricity, estimated at an average of $7.00 per dwelling unit per month.*

APPENDIX E
WEST SIDE URBAN RENEWAL PILOT AREA

ESTIMATED DWELLING UNITS, TAXES AND COSTS — PLAN A, STAGES I AND II

Block	Indicated Re-use of Site	Total Existing Occupied Living Quarters	Proposed New Dwelling Units: If Conventionally Financed	Proposed New Dwelling Units: If F.H.A. Financed	Present Assessed Valuation	Future Assessed Valuation	Present Taxes	Future Taxes	Cost of Acquisition: Total	Cost of Acquisition: Per Square Foot	Demolition Cost	Building Cost	Total Cost
	STAGE I												
1223	Private housing	32	106	122	$ 245,000	$ 1,665,800	$ 10,045	$ 68,298	$ 294,000	$20.90	Included	$ 1,829,100	$ 2,123,
1851	Private housing	128	145	170	333,000	2,218,800	13,653	90,970	399,600	9.68	in	2,425,600	2,825,
	Total private housing	160	251	292	578,000	3,884,600	23,698	159,268	693,600	12.53	Bldg. Cost	4,254,700	4,948,
1225	Rehabilitation	203	184	184	368,500	886,000	15,109	36,326	442,200	11.84	"	690,000	1,132,
1224	Rehabilitation	159	136	136	319,500	702,000	13,100	28,782	383,400	12.87	"	510,000	893,
	Total rehabilitation	362	320	320	688,000	1,588,000	28,209	65,108	825,600	12.30		1,200,000	2,025,
1225	Middle income housing	64	146	146	429,000	1,472,220	17,589	60,361	514,800	17.52	"	2,584,820	3,099,
1221	Public housing	223	237	237	523,300	523,300	21,455	21,455	627,960	19.77	"	2,691,800	3,319,
1226	Public area	17	0	0	93,000	—	3,813	—	111,600	10.80	4,900	20,700	137,
1225	Public area	44	0	0	142,500	—	5,843	—	171,000	12.92	12,500	24,000	207,
	Total public area	61	0	0	235,500	—	9,656	—	282,600	11.99	17,400	44,700	344,
	Summary, Stage I	**870**	**954**	**995**	**2,453,800**	**7,468,120**	**100,607**	**306,192**	**2,944,560**	**14.21**	**17,400**	**10,776,020**	**13,737,**
	STAGE II												
1851	Private housing	99	188	220	481,300	3,189,400	19,733	130,600	577,600	15.58	Included	3,482,400	4,060,
1832	Private housing	152	128	149	389,000	2,356,400	15,949	96,612	466,800	17.27	in	2,519,500	2,986,
1851	Private housing	77	140	162	252,000	2,160,300	10,332	88,572	302,400	18.35	Bldg. Cost	2,477,200	2,779,
	Total private housing	328	456	531	1,122,300	7,706,100	46,014	315,784	1,346,800	16.71		8,479,100	9,825,
1226	Rehabilitation	261	184	184	425,000	942,500	17,425	38,643	510,000	12.24	"	690,000	1,200,
1222	Rehabilitation	103	96	96	236,500	506,500	9,697	20,767	283,800	12.55	"	360,000	643,
	Total rehabilitation	364	280	280	661,500	1,449,000	27,122	59,410	793,800	12.35		1,050,000	1,843,
1222	Middle income housing	105	130	130	305,000	1,245,722	12,505	51,075	366,000	18.17	"	2,280,270	2,646,
1224	Middle income housing	121	104	104	404,500	1,212,061	16,585	49,695	485,400	20.54	"	2,046,269	2,531,
	Total middle income housing	226	234	234	709,500	2,457,783	29,090	100,770	851,400	19.45		4,326,539	5,177,
1221	Public housing	184	237	237	523,300	523,300	21,455	21,455	627,960	21.72	"	2,691,800	3,319,
1224	Public area	86	0	0	190,500	0	7,810	0	228,600	13.29	22,100	32,000	282,
	Summary, Stage II	**1,188**	**1,207**	**1,282**	**3,207,100**	**12,136,183**	**131,491**	**497,419**	**3,848,560**	**16.39**	**22,100**	**16,579,439**	**20,450,**
	Summary, Stages I and II	**2,058**	**2,161**	**2,277**	**5,660,900**	**19,604,303**	**232,098**	**803,611**	**6,793,120**	**15.37**	**39,500**	**27,355,459**	**34,188,**
1205	New school — (Stage I)	609											
1219	New school playground — (Stage II)	112											

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APPENDIX F

WEST SIDE URBAN RENEWAL PILOT AREA

ESTIMATED DWELLING UNITS, TAXES AND COSTS — PLAN B, STAGES I AND II

Block	Indicated Re-use of Site	Total Existing Occupied Living Quarters	Proposed New Dwelling Units: If Conventionally Financed	Proposed New Dwelling Units: If F.H.A. Financed	Present Assessed Valuation	Future Assessed Valuation	Present Taxes	Future Taxes	Cost of Acquisition: Total	Cost of Acquisition: Per Square Foot	Demolition Cost	Building Cost	Total Cost
	STAGE I												
1851	Private housing	77	140	162	$ 252,000	$ 2,160,300	$ 10,332	$ 88,572	$ 302,400	$18.35	Included	$ 2,477,200	$ 2,779,600
1221	Rehabilitation	53	100	100	300,000	663,700	12,300	27,212	360,000	17.87	in	485,000	845,000
1222	Rehabilitation	103	96	96	236,500	506,500	9,696	20,767	283,800	12.55	Bldg. Cost	360,000	643,800
1226	Rehabilitation	291	204	204	449,000	1,015,000	18,409	41,615	538,800	10.94	"	754,700	1,293,500
	Total rehabilitation	447	400	400	985,500	2,185,200	40,405	89,594	1,182,600	12.86		1,599,700	2,782,300
1225	Middle income housing	44	146	146	377,000	1,454,683	15,457	59,642	452,400	18.59	"	2,629,430	3,081,830
1221	Public housing	223	237	237	523,300	523,300	21,455	21,455	627,960	19.77	"	2,691,800	3,319,760
1226	Public area	17	0	0	93,000	0	3,813	0	111,600	10.80	4,900	20,700	137,200
	Summary, Stage I	**808**	**923**	**945**	**2,230,800**	**6,323,483**	**91,462**	**259,263**	**2,676,960**	**15.30**	**4,900**	**9,418,830**	**12,100,690**
	STAGE II												
1851	Private housing	79	128	149	286,000	2,232,800	11,726	91,545	343,200	16.94	Included	2,519,500	2,862,700
1832	Private housing	118	104	121	364,000	2,159,600	14,924	88,544	436,800	17.98	in	2,297,300	2,734,100
	Total private housing	197	232	270	650,000	4,392,400	26,650	180,089	780,000	17.51	Bldg. Cost	4,816,800	5,596,800
1224	Rehabilitation	247	208	208	485,500	1,080,800	19,906	44,313	582,600	13.90	"	793,800	1,376,400
1225	Rehabilitation	203	184	184	368,500	886,000	15,108	36,326	442,200	11.84	"	690,000	1,132,200
1851	Rehabilitation	128	152	152	303,000	784,500	12,423	32,165	363,600	11.85	"	642,000	1,005,600
1832	Rehabilitation	410	188	188	446,500	986,800	18,307	40,459	535,800	11.43	"	720,400	1,256,200
	Total rehabilitation	988	732	732	1,603,500	3,738,100	65,744	153,263	1,924,200	12.27	"	2,846,200	4,770,400
1221	Middle income housing	323	210	210	606,100	1,978,981	24,850	81,138	727,320	17.64	"	3,427,974	4,155,294
1221	Public housing	233	237	237	523,300	523,300	21,455	21,455	627,960	18.31	"	2,691,800	3,319,760
1225	Public area	44	0	0	142,500	0	5,843	0	171,000	12.92	12,500	24,000	207,500
	Summary, Stage II	**1,785**	**1,411**	**1,449**	**3,525,400**	**10,632,781**	**144,542**	**435,945**	**4,230,480**	**14.58**	**12,500**	**13,806,774**	**18,049,754**
	Summary, — Stages I and II	**2,593**	**2,334**	**2,394**	**5,756,200**	**16,956,264**	**236,004**	**695,208**	**6,907,440**	**14.97**	**17,400**	**23,225,604**	**30,150,444**
1205	New school — (Stage I)	609											
1219	New school playground — (Stage II)	112											

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RELOCATION OF FAMILIES AND INDIVIDUALS AND PROPOSED NEW DWELLING UNITS AND POPULATION

Block	Indicated Re-use of Site	Proposed New Dwelling Units: If Conventionally Financed[1]	Proposed New Dwelling Units: If F.H.A. Financed[1]	Assumed Population: If Conventionally Financed[1]	Assumed Population: If F.H.A. Financed[1]	Relocation—Families[2] and Individuals by Racial and Ethnic Group: Total Families	Total Individuals	White, Non-Puerto Rican Families	White, Non-Puerto Rican Individuals	Nonwhite, Non-Puerto Rican Families	Nonwhite, Non-Puerto Rican Individuals	Puerto Rican Families	Puerto Rican Individuals
	STAGE I												
1223	Private housing	106	122	318	366	41	93	29	62	7	16	5	15
1851	Private housing	145	170	435	510	143	246	82	134	27	46	34	66
	Total private housing	251	292	753	876	184	339	111	196	34	62	39	81
1225	Rehabilitation	184	184	295	295	253	413	159	228	20	38	74	147
1224	Rehabilitation	136	136	218	218	194	304	135	197	31	47	28	60
	Total rehabilitation	320	320	513	513	447	717	294	425	51	85	102	207
1225	Middle income housing	146	146	511	511	88	218	52	113	—	—	36	105
1221	Public housing	237	237	900	900	333	768	117	214	22	44	194	510
1226	Public area	0	0	0	0	20	36	6	11	14	25	—	—
1225	Public area	0	0	0	0	64	131	26	51	9	21	29	59
	Total public area	0	0	0	0	84	167	32	62	23	46	29	59
	Summary, Stage I	**954**	**995**	**2,677**	**2,800**	**1,136**	**2,209**	**606**	**1,010**	**130**	**237**	**400**	**962**
	STAGE II												
1851	Private housing	188	220	564	660	159	364	137	297	1	3	21	64
1832	Private housing	128	149	384	447	175	361	50	107	6	15	119	239
1851	Private housing	140	162	420	486	88	201	74	160	2	6	12	35
	Total private housing	456	531	1,368	1,593	422	926	261	564	9	24	152	338
1226	Rehabilitation	184	184	294	294	309	511	218	318	8	11	83	182
1222	Rehabilitation	96	96	154	154	99	141	99	141	—	—	—	—
	Total rehabilitation	280	280	448	448	408	652	317	459	8	11	83	182
1222	Middle income housing	130	130	455	455	166	389	62	134	13	32	91	223
1224	Middle income housing	104	104	364	364	156	292	78	166	—	—	78	126
	Total middle income housing	234	234	819	819	322	681	140	300	13	32	169	349
1221	Public housing	237	237	900	900	241	566	107	230	13	32	121	304
1224	Public area	0	0	0	0	112	245	46	68	—	—	66	177
	Summary, Stage II	**1,207**	**1,282**	**3,535**	**3,760**	**1,505**	**3,070**	**871**	**1,621**	**43**	**99**	**591**	**1,350**
	Summary, Stages I and II	**2,161**	**2,277**	**6,212**	**6,560**	**2,641**	**5,279**	**1,477**	**2,631**	**173**	**336**	**991**	**2,312**
1205	New school — (Stage I)					653	1,400	335	665	62	123	256	612
1219	New school playground — (Stage II)					120	250	62	123	9	18	49	109

Pilot Area Statistics (Existing)	
Population	14,249
No. of Dwelling Units	5,227
No. of Non-Dwelling Units	466
Total No. of Living Quarters	5,693

Income of Relocation Families[2]	Less Than $3000	$3000 to $5000	Over $5000
Stage I	564	289	283
Stage II	719	396	390
Stages I and II	1,283	685	673

[1] Difference between conventional and F.H.A. financing affects private housing only
[2] For definition of families see page 23

APPENDIX H

RELOCATION OF FAMILIES AND INDIVIDUALS AND PROPOSED NEW DWELLING UNITS AND POPULATION

PLAN B, STAGES I AND II

Block	Indicated Re-use of Site	Proposed New Dwelling Units: If Conventionally Financed[1]	Proposed New Dwelling Units: If F.H.A. Financed[1]	Assumed Population: If Conventionally Financed[1]	Assumed Population: If F.H.A. Financed	Relocation—Families[2] and Individuals by Racial and Ethnic Group: Total Families	Total Individuals	White, Non-Puerto Rican Families	White, Non-Puerto Rican Individuals	Nonwhite, Non-Puerto Rican Families	Nonwhite, Non-Puerto Rican Individuals	Puerto Rican Families	Puerto Rican Individuals
	STAGE I												
1851	Private housing	140	162	420	486	88	201	74	160	2	6	12	35
1221	Rehabilitation	100	100	160	160	83	189	70	151	4	10	9	28
1222	Rehabilitation	96	96	154	154	114	141	114	141	—	—	—	—
1226	Rehabilitation	204	204	326	326	365	631	235	359	9	15	121	257
	Total rehabilitation	400	400	640	640	562	961	419	651	13	25	130	285
1225	Middle income housing	146	146	511	511	69	176	33	71			36	105
1221	Public housing	237	237	900	900	333	768	117	214	22	44	194	510
1226	Public area	0	0	0	0	20	36	6	11	14	25	—	—
	Summary, Stage I	**923**	**945**	**2,471**	**2,537**	**1,072**	**2,142**	**649**	**1,107**	**51**	**100**	**372**	**935**
	STAGE II												
1851	Private housing	128	149	384	447	122	279	105	227	1	3	16	49
1832	Private housing	104	121	312	363	135	293	63	137	12	29	60	127
	Total private housing	232	270	696	810	257	572	168	364	13	32	76	176
		208	208	333	333	320	562	162	241	30	47	128	274
1224	Rehabilitation												
1225	Rehabilitation	184	184	295	295	259	413	159	228	26	38	74	147
1851	Rehabilitation	152	152	243	243	136	237	96	159	7	12	33	66
1832	Rehabilitation	188	188	300	300	439	660	139	193	31	44	269	423
	Total rehabilitation	732	732	1,171	1,171	1,154	1,872	556	821	94	141	504	910
1221	Middle income housing	210	210	735	735	396	830	203	438	12	28	181	364
1221	Public housing	237	237	900	900	299	690	120	257	15	36	164	397
1225	Public area	0	0	0	0	64	131	26	51	9	21	29	59
	Summary, Stage II	**1,411**	**,449**	**3,502**	**3,616**	**2,170**	**4,095**	**1,073**	**1,931**	**143**	**258**	**954**	**1,906**
	Summary, Stages I and II	**2,334**	**2,394**	**5,973**	**6,153**	**3,242**	**6,237**	**1,722**	**3,038**	**194**	**358**	**1,326**	**2,841**
1205	New school — (Stage I)					653	1,400	335	665	62	123	256	612
1219	New school playground — (Stage II)					120	250	62	123	9	18	49	109

[1] Difference between conventional and F.H.A. financing affects private housing only.
[2] For definition of families see page 23

Income of Relocation Families[2]	Less Than $3000	$3000 to $5000	Over $5000
Stage I	501	285	286
Stage II	1,109	541	520
Stages I and II	1,610	826	806

Special note should be taken of the patience and helpfulness of the residents and property owners in the Study Area in answering questions in the population and housing survey, in permitting the necessary inspections and in enduring the inconvenience which any local area study creates. Many community leaders and organizations also gave freely of their experience and time in the gathering of information and in making constructive suggestions on various aspects of local problems: mortgage lending, real estate development, community organization, school problems and the like. Special mention should be made of the East River Savings Bank which donated office space in the Study Area to the Community Organization Consultant.

The Study Consultants and their staffs worked under difficult contract conditions and much of their compensation must come from the satisfaction of doing work of high civic importance. It is a matter of deep regret that it is impossible to include in the lists of the City Departments, which contributed extensively to the Study, the names of the many individuals who made valuable and substantial contributions. As the Department of City Planning was charged both with the analysis of the work of the Consultants and other City Departments and supplying much basic information, many members of the Department had an important part in the Study; only the supervisory and policy staff are listed.

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